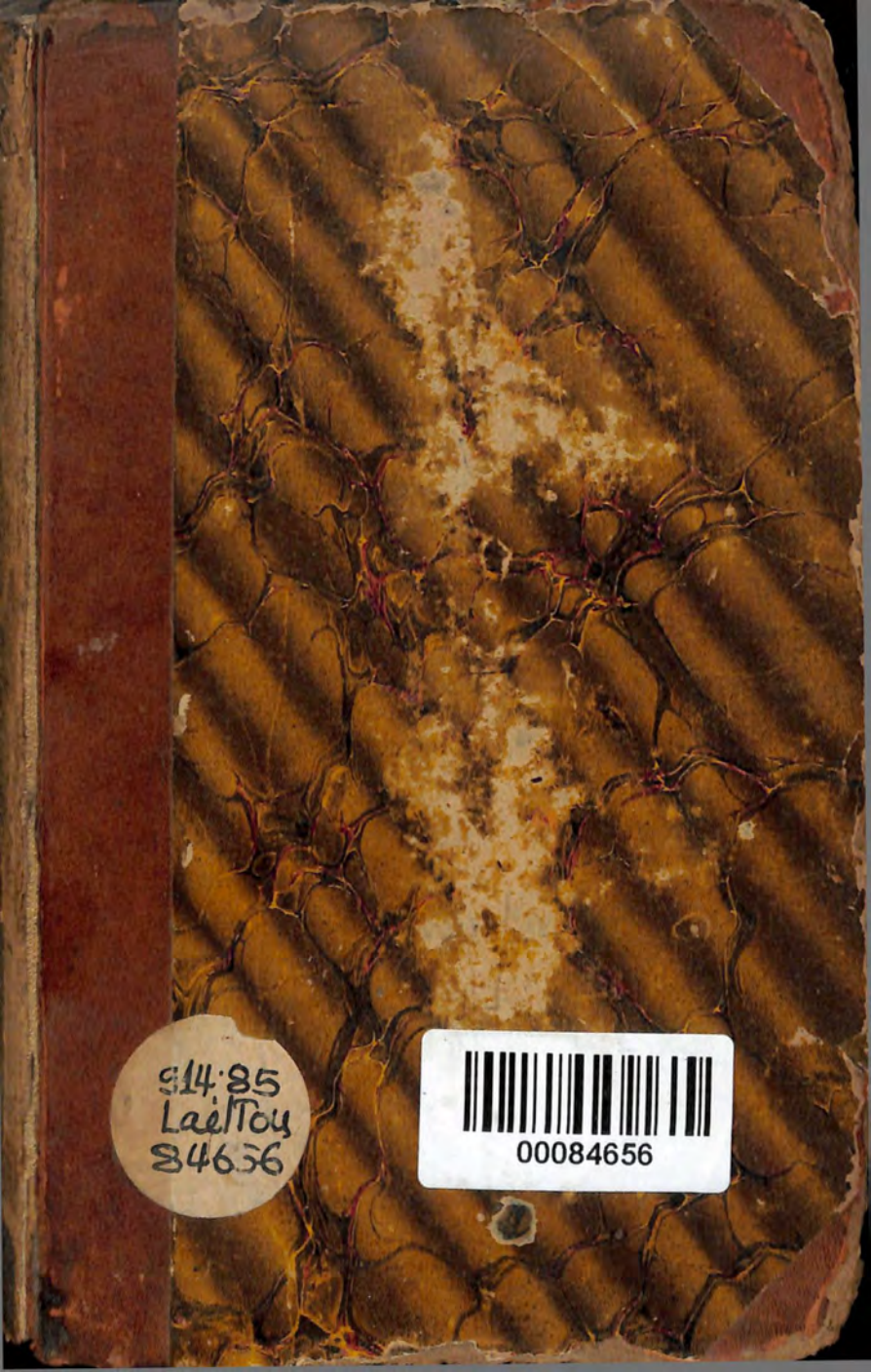

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A

TOUR IN SWEDEN

IN 1838;

COMPRISING OBSERVATIONS ON

THE MORAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMICAL STATE

OF

THE SWEDISH NATION.

BY

SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "A JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY."

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PREFACE.

THE future historian will probably complain that the English travellers of the present generation, while they lavish the highest talents on descriptions of personal feelings or adventures, of romantic natural scenery, of striking objects in the sciences or fine arts, have left few of the more humble facts or observations, from which he can appreciate and describe the advance of society, in different countries, towards a higher condition in morals, laws, good government, physical well-being, and civilisation. Yet the calm which we have been enjoying for nearly a quarter of a century, after that storm of the French revolution which shook the world, is perhaps the most important period that has occurred in the history of the human race. New powers, it may be said, have been granted to man during this period — new intellectual power, by the general diffusion of knowledge through the press — new physical power, by the general application of steam to machinery and movement. The changes which these mighty agencies are rapidly

producing in the social condition of the lower and middle classes of every country, the circumstances in their ancient institutions, laws, and governments, which are retarding or accelerating the progress of these classes to a condition of higher moral and physical well-being, are objects particularly deserving the attention of the traveller. This field of observation, so important to the political philosopher, is scarcely entered into even at home. It is perhaps too homely to attract to it talent in proportion to its importance. To collect ordinary facts of common occurrence in a country, and to draw from them obvious conclusions on the state of its inhabitants, is not a work in which talent and genius are specially required, or from which much literary reputation can be gained. It is a field, however, in which the traveller, with the most ordinary intelligence and observation, may be eminently useful. In Norway and Sweden, such inquiries are peculiarly interesting at the present period, because these two nations, although the furthest removed from the agitation of the French revolution, have by a singular chance, been affected by it more permanently, and one of them more beneficially, than any others in Europe. Norway received a new and liberal constitution, and has started with the freshness of youth, — a new nation, as it were, called suddenly into life from among the slumbering feudal populations of the

north. Sweden received a new dynasty, — and slumbers on amidst ancient institutions, and social arrangements of darker ages. Having attempted, in a former work, to give a sketch of the present social condition of the Norwegian people, I considered it necessary, in order to complete the view of the present moral, political, and economical state of the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula, to undertake the following sketch of the Swedish.

Edinburgh,
January 17th, 1839.

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SWEDEN with her splendid court, and her numerous and powerful nobility and clergy, forming

distinct orders in her social structure, and distinct legislative bodies in her constitution, must present a curious contrast to the simple and democratic Norway. I resolved to pass the summer of 1838, in visiting this fairest and most important portion of the Scandinavian Peninsula. None of the secondary European powers have acted such brilliant and important parts in modern history, as the Swedish monarchs. Gustavus-Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII., live in the memory of all nations. If the highest achievement with the smallest means be the test of military genius, the Vasa race have not been equalled by any commanders even in our times. But Sweden has not, like Norway, an heroic age in her ancient history, connecting her earliest exploits with the fate of other countries. She had no Harold Haarfagre in the ninth century, driving her nobility and their followers to the high seas, to conquer new homes and kingdoms in distant lands, for themselves and their posterity. The Swedish "small kings" plundered at home, and became, like the nobility of Poland, a power of which the strongest party disposed of the crown, and ruled the country amidst perpetual factions, tumult, and bloodshed. The Swedish historian Geyer, one of the most acute and philosophic of modern historians, observes that the history of the Swedish nation is but the history of its kings. He might have added, that the history of its kings is often but the history of the factions and intrigues of a nobility governing in reality from behind the throne; and of whose power the kings, with few

exceptions, have, down to the present age, been either the puppets or the victims. The present position of Sweden among the European powers is extraordinary. By the loss of her foreign provinces of Finland and Pomerania, she is severed from the mainland of Europe, and its political affairs: and by the singular chance which has seated upon her throne a new line of monarchs, not connected by family alliances with any other royal dynasty, she stands politically isolated even more than physisically. What has been or will be the result of this curious political position?

Hamburgh, 1838. *April 24.*—A voyage in a steam vessel across the North Sea is in truth a very tedious affair, although it be one of only fifty hours. Steam with all its powers has not the power of making itself agreeable. On board of a sailing vessel you have at least the satisfaction of understanding, or fancying you understand, the trimming of the sails; of watching the changes of the wind, and are interested in all the circumstances that retard or accelerate your progress: but in a steam vessel, the passenger who has the luck not to be seasick, is in a state of *ennui* almost as pitiable. The tame scenery of the Elbe will scarcely relieve it, and probably the first object that attracts his notice from his leaving the British shores, is the royal navy of Hanover riding at anchor in a muddy bight of the river, in the shape of a cutter of six or eight guns, which apparently has passed her youth in the English revenue service, as she has an English name, and levying a duty upon all goods passing

up and down, in direct contravention of the convention of Vienna of 1815, by which the navigation of all rivers from the sea to the highest navigable point, is declared to be free of all imposts, except for the support of buoys, lights, or towing paths. The way in which this branch of the royal revenue of Hanover is levied, shows a disregard of equity which, although in a trifle, gives the traveller no favourable impression of the spirit of the government. It is a duty of eightpence upon each parcel—my portmanteau pays eightpence, and Mr. Rothschild's chest of gold pays no more. A carpet bag and a woolpack pay the same duty, neither value, bulk, nor equity being considered, but merely the cheapest way of levying an impost upon goods in transit to a third country, abrogated by a solemn convention of the European powers as contrary to international law. England might just as reasonably levy a duty on goods passing through the channel, or crossing the north sea.

Hamburgh has one very striking feature which no other northern city perhaps presents — a square of water surrounded by streets and public walks. It is too large and pure to have the appearance of a pond or piece of water formed by art, and is, in fact, a natural lake in the bosom of the town, formed by a small river, the Alster. The old fortifications of the city, which were carried across this lake at its narrowest part, have been razed, and the ground they occupied laid out in public walks. The water which filled the ditches of the old works now takes its natural course, and

the effect of a really fine lake in the middle of a great city, is exceedingly beautiful. The houses of the Hamburghers, except in the front, sides, and neighbourhood of this sheet of water, are of mean appearance, closely huddled together, and the streets are narrow, dirty, without foot-pavements, and not lighted with gas. Gas-lights, I was told, would interfere with the trade and means of living of those who supply oil for lighting the city. Their Magnificences — that is, the official title of the town counsellors of this burgh — have, it seems, the aptitude so much admired in burghs on our side of the North Sea, of considering private interests as rights not to be disturbed for the public benefit. The city has a self-elected town-council or senate, four burgomasters, and four syndics, the latter having no deliberative voice, but only discharging administrative functions.

The population of the city and its little territory is reckoned at 140,000 persons, and its contingent to the forces of the Germanic body as one of its states, is a corps of 1300 men. Edinburgh or Glasgow, each of which has a larger population, would find it an intolerable direct burden, to levy and support a military force of 1300 men, besides a police; but Hamburgh is a commercial not a manufacturing town, and the employment of people in the transport of goods through the place, can occupy but a small proportion of the labouring class, while the town duties on the transit of goods, however moderate, yield to the town-council or

state a large revenue for levying and supporting its contingent. The very different effects of capital employed in commerce, and of capital employed in manufacture, are brought out strongly here. Around Hamburgh at half a mile distance, all is as still and quiet as if there was not a town within a hundred miles. There is no movement on the roads, no hurry or bustle of business. The great commercial capital of the merchants of Hamburgh gives no employment to the main body of the lower and middle classes in the adjacent country. A third rate manufacturing town with us, as for instance Wakefield or Dundee, extends a beneficial influence on the industry, means of living, and social condition of a far wider circle of country. The clothing of the country people and labourers, their waggons, harness, and the workmanship of every thing used by the lower and middle classes in wood, iron, leather, or cloth, show a very low state of the useful arts. I remember Hamburgh forty years ago, and it strikes me now, that there has been very little change or improvement during that time, compared at least with the advance of our population, in those articles which are the first indications of improvement in the condition of a people.

Kiel, April 26. — I was wrong in saying that forty years have wrought no improvement in the country around Hamburgh. An essential improvement has taken place, although not produced by the effect of the commercial capital of Hamburgh upon the spirit of the people, but by the fiat of the

Danish government. Forty years ago I travelled this road — my bones ache at the remembrance — and from Hamburgh to this town was a journey requiring two days by extra post, in a miserable open waggon. Now an excellent diligence, not heavier than one of our six-inside coaches, driven four-in-hand by a smart fellow in a red coat, with a time-piece at his girdle, the horses and harness superior to any usually seen at our ordinary stages in England, brought us to Kiel in ten hours, over a road as well macadamized as any of our highways. These are improvements — but they are the work of the government, not of the people. It is the ruling principle of the governments of the continent, at present, to do every thing for the people and nothing by them. Roads, diligences, steam-vessels, schools, savings' banks, all, as well as the laws, emanate from, or are controlled by government, and even ordinary branches of private industry, such as mines, iron-founderies, salt-works, are subject to the inspection and regulation of government functionaries, and all trades and handicrafts are exercised under licence. The consequence of this principle of interference in all things, is, that the people remain in a state of pupillage, are trained to an inert dependence on their governments for all things, like that of the soldier on his officer, and do nothing for themselves. They trust to government, not to their own industry and exertion for every improvement. What the governments do in this enlightened age, is generally well done, and really beneficial to the people; but the

hand of government cannot be applied to their mode of living, their supply of useful articles in their households, their manners, habits, morals, and in short, to all that is most important in their social condition. Improvement in these must proceed from a spirit of improvement among the people themselves; and this spirit is kept down and extinguished by the principle of the interference of government in all things, even in branches of private industry. I saw here this morning by the side of a new steam-vessel just fitted out by government, or with its permission and privilege, a canoe, not a boat but a canoe, formed apparently out of a hollowed trunk of a large tree, and as a work of art in no respect superior to the Omiak of the Esquimeaux, paddled by two women with shovels at the prow and stern, and conveying a party of peasants across the bay. Government may copy the beneficial improvements of other countries, but cannot penetrate beneath the surface, and effect any improvement in the condition of the mass of the people with all its efforts, not even in the most necessary of arts, that of their ordinary transport by water. The canoe exists by the side of the steam-vessel, barbarism by the side of civilised appearances, because government does everything, and allows the people no interest or voice in what is done. The principle and spirit of a government has more influence than its acts upon the well-being and social condition of a country. This principle of doing everything for the people and nothing by them, keeps a nation behind in real civilisation,

notwithstanding the external appearances its government may display.

Copenhagen, April. — The voyage from Kiel to Wordenborg, a little town on the south-east end of the island of Zealand, was not very pleasant. It was the first trip of the steam-vessel; and with people evidently unacquainted with steam machinery, and with the coast. There is very little depth of water between the large flat islands of Langaland, Laaland, and Zealand, and from the want of a pilot we had to remain all night at anchor off the coast, with scarcely a foot of water more than the vessel drew. Wordenborg appears to be a little country village, of which the church has been in former days surrounded by some fortification of brickwork. The passengers were accommodated here with very good horses and carriages to Copenhagen, a distance of about fifty English miles over a good road. The country through which we passed is well cultivated, the fields large, and belonging apparently to farms of considerable extent; but no regular course of crops is kept, at least no distinct proportions of land under green crops, sown grasses, or fallow, are observable. The inclosures are generally banks of earth, either planted with dead wood, or faced with stones taken from the field. These stones strike the eye as strangers in the country, for they are rounded masses of gneiss, granite, hornblende, and other primary rock, and the ground rock where it can be seen, is of a totally different formation, a sandstone, claystone, or limestone, with nothing crystalline in the texture. A

shower of stones from Norway, falling on the surface of Norfolk, would not appear more out of their natural place. The face of the country is covered with a deep soil somewhat clayey, the under rock protruding but in few places, even on the sea bank, and is raised into gentle swells sufficient to drain it into little lakes or swamps, in the lowest hollows, and to keep the fields, even of clay soil, dry and free from surface water. Between winter and spring, a country looks its worst, but this is evidently a fertile land, easily farmed, being naturally drained, unincumbered with fast rock or swamps, and of a strong good soil, and sheltered by gentle eminences not too steep or rough for the plough, nor too high and exposed for corn crops. If these large Danish islands had been joined into one, few countries could have shown such a tract of good soil, uninterrupted by wastes or barren land. But Denmark is a country dismembered by nature.

April. — It is one of the most remarkable circumstances in modern history, that about the middle of the 17th century, when all other countries were advancing towards constitutional arrangements of some kind or other, for the security of civil and religious liberty, Denmark, by a formal act of her states or diet, abrogated even that shadow of a constitution, and invested her sovereigns with full despotic power to make and execute law without check or control on their absolute authority. Lord Molesworth, who wrote an account of Denmark in 1692, thirty-two years after this singular transaction, makes the curious

observation, "That in the Roman Catholic religion, there is a resisting principle to absolute civil power from the division of authority with the head of the church at Rome; but in the north, the Lutheran church is entirely subservient to the civil power, and the whole of the northern people of Protestant countries have lost their liberties ever since they changed their religion for a better." "The blind obedience which is destructive of national liberty is, he conceives, more firmly established in the northern kingdoms, by the entire and sole dependence of the clergy upon the prince, without the interference of any spiritual superior as that of the pope among Romanists, than in the countries which remained catholic." "The Lutheran clergy retained their political power as a chamber or state in the diets, although totally dependant on the crown as spiritual and temporal superior." It was the influence of the clergy and the crown upon the third estate in the diet, that of the burgesses wearied out with the oppressive privileges of the nobility, that carried the abolition of all restriction upon the absolute power of the monarch. When Frederic III. in 1660, obtained this absolute power, he established five colleges or departments for the public business, of which the presidents were the ministers for the affairs under each department. This was in fact establishing a check upon his own absolutism from its very birth, and was virtually a representation of the various interests of the people, by enlightened men who would abandon office rather than principle. The members of these colleges — the system remains with few alterations to

the present day — are necessarily taken without respect to birth or rank, from among those qualified to carry on the public affairs intrusted to them; and, in fact, the majority of the members of these colleges do not by birth, belong to the class of nobility. All state affairs are considered, all state measures resolved upon, all final decisions in law and in legislation determined upon in these colleges. The steady impartial administration of law, even where government is a party, as in state prosecutions, is undeniable. The law may be faulty, but its administration is good. Their power extends even to the appointment to all offices under government, with a considerable tendency to impartiality, and preference of merit or long service — for if the crown were to exert its theoretically absolute power by appointing any other candidate, or in public affairs adopting any other measure than the one recommended by the college under which the office or business stands, there would be an alarm, an outcry, a stoppage in the ordinary course of public affairs. This check has grown in the course of two centuries into a power altogether effective; and public opinion has its influence, although not directly by a representative system, upon all the acts of government. Cabinet orders issuing from the kingly power direct, and without the intervention of the ministers and college to which the business belongs, are unheard of, and the monarchy which juridically and in theory is the most unlimited and legitimately absolute of any in Europe, is practically moved by a machinery more democratic, that is, less exclusively in the

hands of one class alone of the community, than that of our own. This is the key to the singular phenomenon, that, under a total want of political freedom, Denmark is in advance of many countries which enjoy it, in her liberal and enlightened institutions. Arrangements for the general education of the people, were commenced nearly a century ago — normal schools for educating schoolmasters, and training them to the art of teaching, have been long established — the punishment of death has been abolished nearly thirty years — the administration of justice has been improved by an effective system of superintendence and revision by the superior courts of all the proceedings and decisions of the inferior, whether appealed from or not by the private parties — an improvement much wanted in our courts — and the institution of parish courts of arbitration in which all civil actions must be entered, and in which arbiters decide between parties in the first instance, is the greatest improvement which any modern nation has made in its ancient social machinery. But it seems to be with nations as with individuals — it is not what is done for people, but what people do for themselves, that acts upon their character and condition. From being altogether passive, and having no voice in their own affairs, the Danish people with all those fine institutions of their government, are in the same state nearly as in 1660. In the practice of the useful arts, in activity, industry, and well being, they are two centuries behind those nations, with

whom, in numbers and natural advantages of soil, climate, and situation, they may be fairly compared, the Scotch, the Dutch, or the Belgian people. The trade and industry of this city so advantageously situated for being one of the great emporiums of the world, is confined to the supplying its own inhabitants with the foreign articles they consume. There is nothing to be called commerce in the place. Copenhagen has more palaces in her streets and squares, than ships in her harbour. The extreme state of pupillage in which this people is kept, not only extinguishes all industry, and activity, but from the host of functionaries who must be employed where a government attempts to do every thing, and regulates and provides in matters which a people can best manage for themselves, it consumes all their capital, and leaves them nothing to be active and industrious with. The population of Denmark is 1,223,807 individuals, of whom 6960 individuals are civil functionaries supporting by their salaries 23,058 persons in their families; 4424 are priests, supporting 21,125 persons; 933 are military officers, supporting 2850 persons; 190 are naval officers, supporting 747 persons; 6987 are non-commissioned officers and soldiers, supporting 3088 persons in their families; 1867 are navy sailors, supporting 4169 persons; and 43,576 individuals are paupers supported by poor-rate, and 1470 are slaves, or condemned convicts, also supported by the public, the value of their labour not maintaining them. The total number thus supported by a public of 1,223,807

individuals, is 121,444 persons; or every 10 individuals have to support 1, who is not engaged in productive industry, but is a public functionary, or a pauper living upon their productive industry. There is one clergyman to every 276$\frac{6}{10}$ths of the population; one public civil functionary to every 176. If to these perpetual drains upon the earnings of the industrious in the middle and lower classes be added the enormous waste of the capital and time of the country, in palaces, gardens, shows, military duties, and such objects as reproduce nothing, it is not extraordinary that the people are sunk in poverty and sloth, although occupying the richest soil and most advantageous situation in the north of Europe.

Drammen, May. — I embarked on a Friday morning, in the Norwegian steam vessel, the Prindz Carl, and felt at home under the Norwegian flag, among this kind and sincere people. On the following Sunday I was landed on the side of the fiord leading to Christiania and Drammen, at a large salt-work called Walloc near Tunsberg. This immense work was erected and carried on by the Danish government, at a regular yearly loss. It appears to have been a kind of disease in this government, engendered no doubt by the practice of interfering in every branch of industry with its regulations, to embark on its own account and risk in every sort of scheme and business; and salt-works, glass-works, colour-works, mines, potteries, founderies, the Iceland trade, were all carried on for government account, by functionaries who made

a living by their employments, and always with a direct loss to the state, besides the incalculable indirect loss of preventing the industry and capital of its own subjects from being employed. On the separation of Norway and Denmark, the Norwegian Storthing very wisely ordered all these concerns to be sold, retaining only the silver mine of Kongsberg which from want of a purchaser could not be got rid of, and has of late turned out very productive. When these government establishments fell into the hands of private parties, they became very profitable concerns, as all the dead stock of machinery and buildings which were of the best description, were sold for a trifle compared to the cost; and economy and good management were alone wanting. This salt-work is one of those concerns. The process and machinery are very curious. Two windmills pump up the sea-water into cisterns in which it is saturated with Liverpool rock-salt. From these cisterns the saturated solution is pumped up into troughs about 40 feet above the level of the ground, which deliver it among fascines of brushwood through which it trickles into reservoirs below. The evaporation of the water descending, drop by drop, through the brushwood for such a space, concentrates the solution, so that fuel is only required for the crystallisation of the salt, and all the boiling away of the superfluous water, which is the most expensive part of the process of obtaining salt from sea-water, is spared. This plan of evaporation, is, I believe, adopted with advantage in other works

on the Continent, but nowhere on so large a scale. The screen or framework of brushwood through which the salt ley trickles, is about forty feet high, and extends almost half an English mile in length, or above 1460 yards.

I found a comfortable little country inn at this place, and proceeded next day to Holmestrand, a small town very romantically situated at the foot of a remarkable cliff of basaltic rock which skirts this side of the fiord for some miles. This locality deserves the attentive examination of the geologist. It appears to contain three distinct formations, one of primary granitic rock, one of later formation deposited upon the first, and containing in its limestone and clay-slate, numerous impressions of the extinct molluscæ, and a third more recent formation of porphyritic rocks to which this basalt belongs, which has tilted up, broken and displaced the strata of the second, and altered, at the points of contact, the nature of the first.

Drammen, May. — I found the Norwegians in the midst of great rejoicings. They have just received the royal sanction to use their own national flag in all seas. The history of this flag business throws a light upon the policy and relations of Sweden with Norway. By the articles of their union, each nation is entitled to its own commercial flag, and as a war flag, the two countries were to use a union flag common to both. The share of each country in this common flag not having been defined, it was ordered to be the old Swedish flag, blue with a yellow cross, and with a little patch of

red with a white cross in one corner, to denote the Norwegian part in it. This was considered by the Norwegians as no fair representation of the union of two independent countries under a common flag, but having so few ships in the public service, it was not much regarded. The Norwegians used only their own flag, red with a white cross, on their own vessels. Under pretext, however, that this Norwegian national flag would be in danger of capture by the Algerine or other Barbary powers who had no treaty for respecting this flag, but only the Swedish, all Norwegian vessels going to the south of Cape Finnisterre were required by a royal edict to use this union flag only, and to sail with Swedish Mediterranean passports. This arrangement was highly offensive to both nations. The Swedes are justly proud of their old national flag, and saw with indignation that it was prostituted to cover property, not truly Swedish — the fish cargoes of the Bergen merchants. The Norwegians considered it as an insidious attempt to do away with their national independence in the eyes of other nations, to give Sweden a false importance as a commercial country at their expense; and as an alarming infringement of their constitution, by giving the effect of law to royal edicts without the concurrence of their storthing. By the French conquests in Africa, the piratical states were in fact suppressed, and vessels under the Hamburgh, Bremen, and Prussian flags, navigate the Mediterranean without passports, fees, or treaties, and at the same rate of insurance as other vessels. The very pretext,

therefore, of the order had fallen to the ground, and the disgust in Norway at the unconstitutional continuance of it, had arisen to an alarming pitch. The sudden dissolution of the last storthing was attributed to the apprehension that resolutions setting aside the royal edict on this subject would be proposed. Some independent ship-masters of Arendal cut the matter short. They sailed to the Mediterranean under their own flag, and without a Swedish pass, and insisted that there was no law obliging Norwegians to sail under any flag but their own, or to pay fees to a Swedish bureau at Stockholm for useless papers. One whose vessel was detained at Lisbon by the Swedish consul, brought an action against him for illegal detention. The whole Norwegian shipping prepared to follow the example, and the obnoxious edicts and proclamations had to be hastily rescinded, the act of the consul at Lisbon disavowed, and all Norwegian vessels allowed to use their own flag in all seas, in order to get out of the awkward dilemma of having the royal edicts set at defiance as illegal, and transgressed with impunity; and with the law as well as the feeling of the country on the side of the transgressors. The Swedish merchant shipping simultaneously resumed their own ancient flag without the Norwegian spot in it. These flags show how the wind sits.

It is difficult to account for the policy of government in these frequent, sharp, and unnecessary collisions with the Norwegian nation, unless on the supposition that there are two powers at work in

the cabinet — one rushing blindly and arbitrarily into these awkward positions, and the other striking in, when matters have gone too far, and prudently getting out of the scrapes. A little of the wisdom displayed in withdrawing from these positions, would have prevented the getting into them. The loyalty of the Norwegians attributes the errors to a ministerial influence, and the rectification of them to the wisdom of the monarch himself. This — or the reverse — may, in fact, be the real solution of the vacillating policy of this reign in Norwegian affairs.

May.— The snow was still covering the ground, and sledges driving about in the first half of this month; and until grass had grown, and roads become dry, travelling was scarcely practicable. The season for tillage and sowing is so short in this climate, that horses cannot be spared from field labour, and the traveller even with a courier or forbud to order horses, will be detained at every post station for several hours. I made several short excursions in this beautiful neighbourhood. I was surprised to find some implements of husbandry in common use here, which are not generally found even in our best farmed districts. The harrow with spiked rollers is universally used. I also saw a harrow of which every two teeth were in a clump of wood which had an iron eye at each end. Iron rods pass through these eyes, as in connecting two light harrows with us, so that each row of tines plays upon an iron rod, and be the land or rig ever so much heaped up, rounded, or sloping,

the whole harrow embraces and acts upon it. There is also a good practice in harrowing, not so common in many parts of Scotland as it ought to be. Instead of dragging round the harrow at the end of each rig, in order to go up the next, by which the earth in the head rigs is accumulated in time like a dam-dyke around a field, they unhook the swingle trees, turn round the horses only, and hook them on again at the opposite corner of the harrow, using a short stick with a crook at the end, to save stooping to unhook and hook on the swingle-trees. These are not attached to ropes or iron chains by which the horses draw, but by hooks and eyes to light birch poles, which are fastened to the back harness or saddle very simply, by a hole in the other end. It looks as if the horses were working in shafts, but these poles are intended merely to save rope or chain traces, and are more manageable than loose ropes or chains trailing about the feet of the horses. There are curious savings of rope by birch poles among the country people. I have seen a large boat on the Myosen lake rigged with two shrouds on each side of the mast, which were light birch poles hooked on with swivel hooks and eyes, to the mast and gunwales. In the last dressing of the fields here, after the seed is sown, the fluted roller is in common use. This is a common roller with narrow slips of wood nailed lengthwise upon it, at the distance of half an inch from each other. The field rolled with this implement, is crimped into little ridges, like a lady's frill. This is good husbandry. All the benefit of compressing the

soil and retaining its moisture is obtained, and also by those little ridges and hollows, although of so trifling a size, shelter and shade are given to the first sprout of the tender plant, which always appears to thrive best under the lee of a clod, stone, or any little elevation. It is an improvement upon the rolling a field into one flat glazed surface, for sun and rain to bake and wash.

Vegetation in this country, by its wonderful rapidity, gives you the impression of a self-acting power rather than of a process following warmth and moisture. The coltsfoot and the strawberry plants seem to have thawed a little circle of snow around themselves, and to be in full vegetable life before there is any perceptible change of temperature in the air. The grass springs up so suddenly, that its growth must have been in progress under the cover of snow. In the last week of May, the snow was gone, the country was green, the cuckoo was in the woods, the swallow about the houses, and salmon springing in the fiords. Summer was come; and I yoked my cariole, and set off for Sweden, stopping two days at Christiania to exchange Norwegian for Swedish paper money.

Ouse, June 1. — Set off at five o'clock this morning from Christiania. There are two main roads from Norway to Sweden on this side of the Dovre Fjeld. One passes along the coast, by Moss, Frederickshald, and crossing Swinesund, to Stromstad, Uddevalla, and the south end of the great Wener Lake. The other by Kongsvinger, on

the Glommen river, comes in upon the north end of the Wener, at Carlstad, and its course is about 130 miles more inland. I have taken this road. The country from Christiania to this single house has already in the 30 or 35 miles of easterly direction, lost the characteristic features of Norway—the ridges and glens. My day's journey has been through a country of gentle eminences, with considerable tracts of cultivation, not broken by crags and ridges of naked rock. The valley through which the Glommen flows, as broad a river as the Rhine, is a fine strath, with much good soil, and 6 or 8 miles wide, or more, before hills, too steep for the plough, appear on either side. The Glommen here has quite the air of a corn-country river, its wide stream running with a gentle current, and bounded by flat low land and alluvial banks. I am surprised to see so much good land in the valley of this river not yet cleared of wood—land flat, unobstructed by rock, close to the road or river-side, and of good soil, to judge from a few slips of it that are under cultivation. The cause, I presume, is, that the old cultivated lands of the first quality for soil or convenience, together with the import of foreign grain at light duties, have been adequate to supply the wants of the nation hitherto; so that their lands of second quality are only now beginning to be brought into cultivation, and rather for convenience than for food. The first quality of land in this tract is alone occupied by those who live by its produce; but to cultivate the second quality, or to give rent for the first, is a

state to which it has not advanced; and the better soils of the Danish islands, close at hand, affording better and cheaper grain, will probably always prevent those of the second quality from being cultivated to advantage, or the first from yielding a rent, unless as habitations of convenience. These lands, in fact, are much better occupied in bearing timber, which will buy corn for the population cheaper than they could produce it from soils of the second quality. To improve land, even of the best quality, as a profitable employment of capital, cannot answer, either here or in Canada, for a reason common to both countries. All agricultural labour is, from the climate, at a stand for six or eight months of the year; consequently from one half to two thirds more time must pass before capital so employed is in a train to be replaced; and one half or two thirds more capital must be expended, in every operation, than in the other corn-growing countries of the world, because the labourer, in those climates, must earn twelve months' subsistence by his four months' work. The clearing of land for necessary subsistence or family convenience, without regard to profit, is all the agricultural effort that can be safely made; and that is going on here as in Canada, and stopping at the same point, which is one far short of agricultural improvement. This district is a good illustration of Mr. Ricardo's theory of rent; but climate, as well as soil, must enter into the consideration of the capability of different countries to be cultivated by rent payers.

I had to cross three considerable rivers in ferry boats, in the course of this day's journey, the most considerable being the outlet of the great Myosen Lake, which joins a branch of the Glommen at Vormersund. The sagacity of the Norwegian horse in these ferry boats is very curious: he drags the carriage into the boat, and stands as quietly as if conscious that his movements might overbalance it.

Midskoven, June. — A short day's journey to this single house. At my last night's quarters I was charged for tea, bread and butter, eggs and milk, for supper, for my bed, and breakfast this morning, the same as my supper, one mark, or ten pence sterling. Here I have had, in addition to this fare, salted pike for supper. I have not before seen salted fresh water fish; I found it very good. I carry, as all Norwegian travellers do, a little box with provisions in my cariole, dine under the shade of a rock, and only trouble myself about inns towards evening. From want of forage in the country, and grass being as yet scanty, I found it impracticable to travel with my own pony; but there is no difficulty, although often great delay, in getting a horse at the post stations.

The district up to Kongsvinger, a small town at which I merely stopped for a couple of hours, and from thence up the valley of the Glommen, called generally the Osterdal, is the Lothians of Norway. The soil is the best, and the bonders who own it the most substantial in the country. Kongsvinger is, or rather has been, a frontier fortification upon an elevated point of land, round which the Glom-

men makes a sudden bend from a south, to a west course, forming a lake very considerable at this season, at the foot of the hill, which is crowned with the decaying works. This lake in high floods, communicates with another which sends a considerable water, the Wrangs-elv, into the Wener, and this would be, and probably has been, the course of the whole body of the Glommen, but for the sudden deflection at a right angle to its previous course, which it takes at Kongsvinger. The Glommen at this season is a mighty mass of water. After crossing it I followed the course of the river which runs towards the Wener, sometimes as a stream, sometimes as a long winding lake, partly hid by picturesque rocks and trees. The whole country when you look down upon it from the heights, appears a moving sea of woods. The timber felled in these forests may be sent into Sweden by the Wener lake from one side of a ridge, or into Norway from the other by the Glommen. The trees may meet again in a London wood yard.

Strand, June. — I came early to this place, a hamlet of three or four houses on the road-side, and remain here for the rest of the day as my first quarters in Sweden. I was kept awake all last night by a tipsy Norwegian bonder in the next room, who was boasting that he was only a simple Norsk bonder, and asking the Swedes if they had any such bonder among them. I suppose, that in some point or other, he thought himself far superior, although in dress or appearance I could see no difference. The Glommen had drifted some of his

timber towards the Wener, and he had been down the country to look for it. His superiority probably consisted in being the owner of land and wood. The boundary line between Norway and Sweden is here an avenue cut through the forest, with piles of stones within view from each other, and this is carefully kept up along the whole of this long frontier. The country is more cultivated and better than on the Norwegian side.

A little way from the village, on the road side, I observed an inscription cut out in lapidary style in a large piece of rock "In the years 1772 and 1788, Gustavus III. travelled this way to defend the frontiers; the gratitude of the country will endure as long as the world stands." One would almost suspect that some wicked wit had added the latter clause lately. It is on the whole, rather fortunate that the existence of the world has not depended upon the gratitude of this part of it. On the opposite side of the road there is an inscription still more ludicrous. It is in ancient Runic characters of the very remote date of last year, 1837. What it refers to, none of the persons I met on the road could tell; but Sweden may challenge all Europe to produce in a public monument such a specimen of the want of common sense, as modern words in an obsolete character, of which not twenty persons in a million know one letter from another.

Carlstad, June 5. — I reached this little town this evening. It is situated at the head of the Wener lake, upon a little island, between two mouths of a magnificent river, the Klar-elv. About

twenty miles up this river, at Dyefors, there is the most considerable salmon fishery in Sweden. It has not yet commenced, but it must be very interesting to the naturalist, for the salmon of the Wener lake cannot, like our oceanic salmon, go periodically to the salt water, and is probably, a different variety of the species. The Falls of the Gotha at Trolhætta are surely not surmountable by the body of fish caught at Dyefors, and the other waterfalls, or *forces* of rivers falling into the Wener: and it would be an interesting fact, if a periodical return to salt water is not a necessary habit of this fish, as we suppose, but that it may remain and recover its condition in fresh water in due season, or if there is a variety of the species habituated to, or living entirely in, fresh water. The oceanic salmon is a much better fish for the table, than these, or even the Baltic salmon; but I could not learn that there was any apparent difference in size or form.

The river, which is occasionally a branch of the Glommen, runs through several narrow lakes and falls into the Wener, under the name of the Bye river. On one of these lakes is a little town called Arvika, which in 1815, it was proposed to rebaptize and call Oscarstad, in honour of his royal highness the crown prince. But names are stubborn things, and the new name could not be brought into use among the people, and is already obsolete. Carlstad is a kind of outpost of Gottenburg, and seems to have a good country trade. A mile or two from the town I met a little steam-boat in the forest, for

the woods concealed the stream, and close to the town a canal is nearly finished, for the purpose of saving time in passing up against the current of the river. These are proofs of a thriving trade in this neat little town. The population is about 2,500 persons; and for the size of the place, it appeared to me that the number of well-dressed people in the streets — people, not of the working, nor even of the busy class, was unusually great. I found two booksellers' shops, and a music-sellers, in the town, but not a butcher's. Here, as in Norway, I presume, every family has butcher-meat killed and salted in autumn. With us in such small country towns, the enjoyment of the fine arts is not so generally diffused as that of eating fresh meat; and the proportions of supply for mind and body would be exactly the reverse — three butchers' shops at the least for one book or music shop.

The country from the Glommen to the Wener, a distance of 98 or 100 English miles, appears to have been a chain of lakes, of which the former islands are the present unconnected eminences of primary rock, granite, gneiss, or porphyry, and the bottoms, those cultivated valleys, from which the numerous isolated eminences, clothed with fir-woods, rise abruptly, but to no considerable elevation, seldom 200 feet above their bases. The whole tract is but little elevated above the level of the sea, considering its distance inland. The Glommen at Kongsvinger, where it takes the remarkable bend at an acute angle to its former course, and runs W. N.W. for about sixteen miles,

before it resumes its south course, is only 455 feet above the sea level, and only 308 feet above that of the Wener. There is no ridge dividing the waters of the Glommen and Wener. The continuous hills, or elevated grounds in this tract appear to me to range not according to the run of the rivers or main drainage of the country, but according to great basins which at some period have held extensive fresh water lakes. This I infer from the great masses of gravel, sharp sand, and rolled stones on the sides and even summits of considerable eminences. The connecting ridges between these eminences of primary rock, are often composed of such alluvial banks. The supposed rise of the Scandinavian land might perhaps be more satisfactorily traced from an examination of the ancient shores of the Wener, and the other great basins of the Peninsula, than of the Baltic. If the small gap of Trolhætta, by which the Gotha river issues from this lake, were dammed up by some convulsion of nature, the chain of basins, now dry land, would again be filled with water up to the valley of the Glommen, and the east side of Scandinavia would be an archipelago of innumerable rocks, and islands, with long ribs of land here and there projecting from the present back-bone of the peninsula. About one third of all Sweden, $\frac{13}{38}$ parts, is reckoned to be less than 300 feet above sea level, that is, less than 153 feet above the level of the Wener, which is 147 feet above the sea. The Wener at present is known to have a difference of ten feet between its highest and lowest

level. This difference never exceeds four feet and half, between one year and another: but the accumulation of water which cannot run out by its present outlet, the Gotha river, raises it in a series of years unfavourable to evaporation, to this great known difference. The great banks, or ancient shores, therefore, resting against the eminences of the ground rock in this tract between the Glommen and the Wener, are not phenomena requiring very extraordinary convulsions or changes in the country, to account for their production.

Carlstad, June. — Every traveller is placed between two difficulties — that of founding too much and too soon upon trifling isolated circumstances — and that of postponing his opinions upon them, until he has become so accustomed to see them, that he makes no observation or opinion about them at all. The latter is the safest course for the traveller, but the worst for the reader; who, if he has before him the circumstances and impressions as they arise, may draw his own conclusions, and adopt no more of the traveller's than he sees fit. I shall therefore take this course, and give my opinions as they arise, although the circumstances may not always be thought of so general and important a kind as to bear them out.

This country is certainly of richer soil, better farmed, and in every way — even in the transport by water of its staple product, timber, from the most remote recesses — better adapted for supporting its population, than any part of Norway. This part of Sweden also is divided, like Norway, very

much among small proprietors. I have passed but one place, at Ihlberg a bout 20 miles from hence, which could be called the domain of a large land-owner. Yet it strikes me that there is a great difference here in the condition of the middle and lower classes, and judging from such trifles as one is scarcely willing to avow as the grounds for an opinion, that their condition is worse in this tract of Sweden. The trifles I judge from are these: the houses, out-houses, and all about them appear out of repair, as if they had been built twenty or thirty years ago, and never touched since; not one in twenty of the dwelling houses of these classes has ever been painted, which these wooden walls require. In Norway, every little estate not so large apparently, nor of such good soil in general as these, has the main house, barn, cow-house, and all the valuable offices painted red, often orange, pink, or some colour which says little for the good taste, but much for the good condition of the peasant, and for his spirit of conservation, keeping in order, and in a neat state, all his property. I observe that not one house has runs or water spouts at the roof, and very few porches with benches at the door, for the house-father to sit on and smoke his pipe in the evening. No cottage in Norway is without these appendages. The windows here are broken, the dunghill is not under cover, the collars and bells about the necks of the favourite cows, to direct the cowherd to find the cattle in the woods, are not polished and bright, as in Norway. There is a want here of those little outward signs

and tokens of a spirit of comfort, of a disposition to have things in order, to repair and renew, from which I infer an inferior state of well-being among the rural population here. These are trifles, but they may indicate the condition of a peasantry as truly as more important circumstances. In this land of wood and iron, the roughness and imperfection of all workmanship in these materials must strike the most unobserving. In the houses on the road at which travellers stop, and which being privileged must belong to the more respectable of this class, the window and door frames are nailed to the walls with clumsy nails of which the heads are not sunk into the wood, the floors and ceilings are boarded in the same rough way, the doors are without any handles, but the key on one side, and on the other a piece of clumsy iron to pull it open by, and no stoves, but only hearths in the common rooms. I infer from these circumstances, that many of the useful arts, and a taste for comfort and neatness, are but in a low state in this part of Sweden, notwithstanding the steam boats and book shops. My cariole wheels are very much admired wherever I stop; they are no doubt well made, but are such as in almost every country parish in Norway are made by the wheelwright for two dollars. Bedsteads are universally used in Norway by the poorest people. They are clumsy, to be sure, not unlike seamen's chests in shape, but still they are moveables having a value as furniture. They are taken out to the green before the door in summer, and washed and scoured, and the rugs or

skins forming the bedding are hung out all day, as regularly as bedding on board a ship of war. Here the common people sleep in fixed berths in the wall, one tier above another, as in a ship's cabin. This can neither be so clean nor so decent; as from the much smaller size of the dwellings, there are not always, as in Norway, separate sleeping apartments for men and women. These may be thought very unimportant matters of observation, but they indicate, I conceive, a different degree of development of civilized habits, and modes of living in two countries, under circumstances nearly alike — and show, as in the comparative condition of the Scotch and the English people, that the best educated and most intelligent may have made the smallest advance in the habits and modes of living that denote civilisation. There must be causes, altogether independent of education, which in this richer and better educated country, keep back the developement of those habits, as compared to its poorer and more ignorant neighbour.

"*Christinehamn, June.* — Wishing to see more of this little ocean, the Wener, I came to this small port upon it, about 35 miles from Carlstad. There are ten sail of schooners and sloops in the roadsted; some of them not less than 80 tons burden, and fitted out to stand bad weather. The navigation of the lake is not without its dangers. The country from Carlstad to this place is flat, with numerous hummocks, hills, or islands of gneiss rising from the plain, which has been formerly filled by the Wener. It is a country of large fields and farms, and the

houses are roofed with straw. This would be sinful extravagance in Norway. They are roofed, not thatched, for the straw is not sewed on with rope, nor plastered on with clay, but held on by two poles fastened together at the top like a pair of compasses, and set astride on the roof over the straw, a pair of them at every two feet distance from the other. It is a very ineffective way of roofing, for the straw is blown off, and the coverings look ragged and insufficient. The ricketty decayed condition of the grey, water-soaked, wooden houses, unpainted and unrepaired, and the disorder of every thing in the house-yards, give the impression of thriftlessness, and reckless poverty. The flat land around the Wener, or in the valleys and basins connected with it, although alluvial, is not of the rich alluvial soil formed by the lakes or rivers of countries not consisting of primary rock. Here alluvial soil is a harsh sand of crystalline particles impregnated with iron, washed down from the primary rocks and mixed with the clay, and not very fertile. Compared, however, to the arable land on the slopes and high grounds, such soil is fertile. It is the best in the country for many miles around, yet in the course of 35 miles through this tract, I saw not one new house building, no repairs of the old houses going on, and the steadings and outbuildings very crazy. There is some cause for the want here of those outward signs of the well-being and prosperity of the country people. The wages of common country labour are much less here than in Norway—the only travellers in-

deed I met on the road were labourers going to seek work in Norway. If labour sells at a lower price, it is evident that both the labourer and the persons who live by supplying the labourer, can abstract less of it from the simple necessaries to bestow on the gratifications of life. But why are wages less in this richer country? Here are canals, steam boats, iron works, inland trade, and a great extent of land in cultivation in estates of all sizes, and towns to consume the produce. Why is the supply of labour greater here than the demand, while Norway with few or none of those advantages is under supplied? I can only conjecture that from the division of property in Norway few are so entirely unconnected with it, and totally destitute, that they must sell their labour at any price. From the want of competition for work at any price, labour is both dear and bad in Norway: while in Sweden there is a greater supply of that class who must live by work, and execute it well to get employment. This is good for the class of employers in Sweden; but there must be some unseen pressure in the social arrangements of this country upon the lower class, for it is not a natural state of things that where employment is most abundant, wages are lowest and the labouring class worse off.

In this little town of 1500 inhabitants, the houses are very much better than those of the country people: and both here and at Carlstad the public buildings, such as the town house, official residences of the public officers, &c., appear out of proportion to the size or importance of the town.

Orebro, June.—This is an ancient town almost in the centre of the country, at the head of the Hielmare lake, which is connected by a canal with the Malare lake, upon which Stockholm is situated. The distance from the Wener to the Hielmare is about 55 miles. The most remarkable feature in this tract of country is the immense number of those blocks or rolled masses of granite, gneiss, and other primary rocks which cover the surface. The whole peninsula, Denmark, and Lower Germany, are strewed over with these erratic blocks, as they are termed by German geologists, and it is difficult to conceive where they have come from, or how they have been transported. Those to the north of the Wener are rounded or rolled, and appear to have been exposed to much friction; but it strikes me those between the Wener and Hielmare are of a different character—the edges and corners are sharp, and they could not have been rubbed and rolled about so much by torrents or the sea, and this difference of character seems to increase, the further east they are found.

The country in this district is inhabited in hamlets. The fields are large; some which were preparing for rye are among the longest ploughed fields I ever saw. Such is the rapidity of vegetation here that rye is in ear which four weeks ago must have been under snow; grass is fit for pasturage, and peas which are a common field crop, and all the spring sown corn, are above ground. The land is very clean, which I attribute less to good farming, or destroying the weeds by fallowing or

working the land, than to climate, which kills the seeds of the annuals by early frosts before they are all ripened. Docks, thistles, ragweed, and such root weeds as infest our land, seem rare here, even on the roadside, or in neglected corners.

The Swedish diet, which settled the succession of the crown on Gustavus Vasa, was held at Orebro in 1540. The building is like an old French chateau surrounding a small open court. This town has a considerable inland trade. The numerous but small iron manufactories create a demand for goods, and as particular places only are privileged to trade, and the burgesses of such places only entitled to open shops upon obtaining rights and licenses, those towns have a monopoly of the business of the adjacent country, without competition from country dealers.

I got into an inn here, which may give the traveller an idea of the way of living on the road. At every mile or mile and a-half Swedish, that is, from seven to ten miles English—there is a Skyds-station, or a post station to which the peasants are obliged to bring their horses upon certain days in regular tour of duty, to be in waiting to post with travellers. If more happen to arrive than the horses on duty for the day can accommodate, a certain number of reserve horses liable in turn to this duty on that day, but allowed to be working at home until required, may be called out; but of course the traveller may wait an hour or two before these can be got to the station. The master of the station is also obliged to keep horses of his own to take the

duty in turn. A book is delivered every month to the master of the station by the local authorities, in which every traveller must insert his name and business or rank, whence he came, where he is going to, with what passport, and the number of horses he has taken—whether those on duty, or of the reserve horses, or of the station keepers. There is also a column for inserting any complaint he has to make of delay. As every day is provided with its own horses, according to an exact roll of the duty of all the peasants obliged to give horses to this service, if any undue neglect or delay is complained of, it is immediately seen what farm ought to have furnished a horse and boy at the Skyds station, and at what time; and those books are as regularly given in and checked every month as excise returns with us. Pretty sharp fines, corporal punishment when fines cannot be paid, and a body of functionaries with little to do, little pay, and an interest in fines, keep this system effective. The station master has the advantage of being the only innkeeper in the country. In the towns, others are also licensed to keep inns. I put up at the Skyds house at Orebro, and I suppose it is in much the same state as in the days of Gustavus Vasa. It is built round a court-yard, in which horses, peasants, carts, boys, dogs, and travellers, with a few pigs, and servant girls half undressed for heat, and scudding to and from the kitchen, are mingled in glorious confusion. The bed-room, however, which I got was much cleaner than I expected: but for dinner I was referred to another

house in which people keep food but not beds for travellers. Here you order a portion according to a *carte* or list of dishes; but in country towns the *carte* seldom tells of more than three sorts of dishes, of which only one generally is of any sort of meat. If you want any thing to drink, except it be anise brandy, or ale, which in general is very good, you must go to a third house, the Kallare or town's cellar, where you may get wine. Should you want a desert, you must go to a fourth, the conditor's or confectioner's, where you get pastry, coffee, and liqueurs. The Swede comes home at last to take his siesta, which all classes enjoy as regularly as in Spain or Italy at this season. The labouring people regularly sleep in the shade for an hour or two; and the middle classes go to bed after dinner during the summer.

The system of posting is evidently very oppressive. The rate paid for each horse is one-third of a dollar banco, or about 7*d.* sterling for the Swedish mile, equal to seven English. This is one third less than is paid in Norway for the same distance; but neither rate can indemnify the husbandman for the loss of a day's work of horse and man, in seed time or harvest. It is, besides, an infringement of the sacredness of property to impress it against the owner's will for the convenience of his fellow-subjects. It shows but rude notions of the rights of property, to consider the payment, even if large enough to satisfy the horse owner, as a justification of this legal violation of those rights. It is an old abuse unworthy of an enlightened country in the present age.

Arboga, June. — I proceeded to this town of about 3000 inhabitants, and apparently a good deal of business. The road and streets were crowded with carts, carrying iron to the town. It is near to the canal which unites the Hielmare and Malare, and is an *entrepôt* for the iron to be shipped at Stockholm. In all these little towns, the most considerable houses are those inhabited by the public functionaries under government, and the clergy. Private people of fortune, noblemen, or gentlemen not in trade or public office, do not reside in the towns. The mansion-houses of the gentry, which I have seen from the road, are large, and apparently all connected with large farms in the hands of the proprietors, the farm offices, and ploughed land, being close around the main dwelling, and generally an iron foundery close to it.

The country all from the frontier, or even the Glommen, is as flat as the middle counties of England. The view is only obstructed by gently swelling features of land in a distant horizon. The erratic blocks of primary rock are not, as more to the north, scattered indiscriminately over the surface and so profusely that scarcely an acre of land in one sheet is without one or more heaps of them. Here they are collected in long spits, or tongues, resting upon large plains which are quite free of and unconnected with them, for the land does not shape into valleys and depressions, nor the waters run according to these elevations upon it. They are upon the face of the country, like gravel upon a table, which a child has swept into long

rows and islands. They seldom exceed in elevation 30 or 40 feet above the level of the ground on which they rest; but the roads must wind round them as if they were mountains, it being impossible to cross them. They are a very singular and inexplicable feature of country. They are evidently very little if at all rolled, or water-worn in these long banks. The corners and edges of by far the greater part of the huge masses of single stones, are sharp and rounded. I could make out no tendency to any one direction in these accumulations; but Swedish geologists consider that they run N.W., and S.E., generally. They form many islands in the lakes, as well as heaps on the plains. The only general observation, perhaps, which can be hazarded is, that they consist of blocks of granite, gneiss, and all varieties of primary crystalline rock, without any stones of the later or mechanically aggregated formations of rocks. These long narrow ridges of accumulated stones are called *aases* or *oses*, in the two Scandinavian languages, which are, especially the Norwegian, very rich in names for all the natural features of mountain country.

In the nooks and corners of these spits of stones, the peasantry of the country — those who are small proprietors, or who are renters of small patches for payment of work — seem to be principally located, and often in hamlets of several families. If their habitations and appearance give a good ground for opinion, this class in this part of Sweden, is going backwards in well-being and

comfort. Their houses, outhouses, fences, and gardens, are very generally out of order and repair, and no renovations going on. The best of these habitations of the lower class are little farm-houses, with some land — enough to keep a family in bread, potatoes, and milk, which appear to be a kind of military colonisation scattered over the country, each house having a shield affixed with the name of the occupier, his regiment, and company. These are not retreats for worn-out soldiers, the occupiers being fine young men with families.

Westeraas, June, — I determined to stop at this town for some time; as besides the traveller's usual important business with the washer-woman, I have to study the map, collect all my stray memoranda relative to Sweden, read the last part of Geyer's History which has lately appeared, and an excellent statistical account of Sweden, by Forsell, which is founded upon official tables and returns published by government. These books I bought at Orebro, where there is a considerable printing establishment, from which some of the best Swedish works have issued.

In the house to which I had been referred for my supper from the Skyds-house, I found comfortable lodging, removed my luggage immediately — and am settled.

CHAPTER II.

SWEDISH, NORWEGIAN, DANISH, LANGUAGES. — QUANS OR FINS. — AMAZONS. — MISTAKE OF A WORD IN ADAM OF BREMEN. — SIMILARITY BETWEEN SCOTCH AND SWEDISH. — INTERCOURSE BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND SWEDEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. — TROOPS FROM SCOTLAND. — PEDLARS. — FAMILY NAMES IN SWEDEN OF SCOTCH ORIGIN. — LANGUAGE OF THE SAGA. — DOUBTS OF THEIR VALUE AS PICTURES OF THE MANNERS OF THE AGES THEY DESCRIBE. — SWEDISH SOLDIERS. — APPEARANCE. — ACCOUTREMENTS. — EVENING PARADE WITH RELIGIOUS SERVICE. — INDELDTA SYSTEM OF SUPPORTING TROOPS. — GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. — MUSKETS. — MILITARY MOVEMENT INTRODUCED BY HIM. — MILITARY EXERCISE BEFORE HIS TIME. — MILITARY COLONIES INTRODUCED BY HIM. — EXPENSE OF THE SWEDISH ARMY. — HOW COMPOSED. — AVAILABLE ONLY TO A LIMITED EXTENT. — IN WHAT TIME COULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON PARTICULAR POINTS IF THE COUNTRY WERE ATTACKED. — DEFENCELESS STATE OF THE NORTH. — THE CONDITION OF THE SWEDISH SOLDIER. — DISPROPORTION OF OFFICERS. — FONDNESS OF TITLES AMONG THE SWEDES. — FRU FRÖKEN. — MADAME, MAMSELLE. — BRICK CATHEDRAL. — PORT OF WESTERAAS. — VOYAGE ON THE LAKE MALERE. — SCENERY. — STOCKHOLM. — LODGINGS. — HOTELS. — RESTAURATEURS. — TABLE D'HÔTE. — SUP. — ROYAL PALACE. — POPULATION OF STOCKHOLM. — HOUSES. — MEANS OF LIVING OF INHABITANTS. — POVERTY. — DRESS.

Westeraas, June. — I HAD postponed my journey into this country for a summer, in order to acquire a little of the language, enough to read the newspapers, understand what is said, and travel alone. A person deaf, dumb, and unable to read, is not particularly well qualified to collect informa-

tion; and the traveller ignorant of the language of a country is precisely in this state. It is no difficult task to acquire Swedish, if one is acquainted with Norwegian. Books have to be translated from the one into the other, but the vulgar tongue, the language of the peasantry in the two countries, differs not much more than broad Scotch from cockney English. The roots of words, construction, and idioms are the same in both, or have a common origin.

Many English readers have confused ideas of the limits of these northern languages. The Norse or Norwegian of the present day is the same language as the Danish, differing only in local expressions and pronunciation in different provinces, and in being called Danish in the one country, and Norse in the other. It extends from the German frontier in Schleswig, where it marches with the ancient dialect of German called Platt Deutch, through Jutland, Denmark, and Norway, and is spoken by about 2,730,000 persons. This language is the more polished of the two, having long been the language of the court and higher classes; while in Sweden, from affectation in Gustavus III.'s reign, and necessity in the present, Swedish is not the language of the higher circles. Holberg, and in the present times, Öhlenschlager have also obtained a European reputation by their works in this language.

Swedish extends from the Sound to the Kalix river at the head of the Bothnian Gulph, where it joins the Quan or Fin language of Sclavonic not of Teutonic origin, and considered to have a com-

mon derivation with the Laplandic. The Swedish is spoken by about 3,100,000 people. The Fin is spoken by a very small number of Swedish subjects now; but in the northern provinces of Norway, East and West Finmark and Norland, the Fins have extended themselves as colonists. They occupy both sides of the gulph of Finland, as well as the east side of the gulph of Bothnia, and have in ancient times, extended to the mouths of the Vistula; dialects of their language being still in use in those countries. They are an industrious, robust people, differing, morally and physically, from the Laplander as much as the grown man from the child; yet they have probably been but one race originally. The touch of civilisation has produced the difference. This race appears to have been the Fenni of Tacitus. His description of them is remarkably applicable to the habits and mode of living of the Laplanders of the present day; who are the only European people whose physical and moral condition has been scarcely improved or altered since the time of the Romans.* The Laplanders still

* "Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non Penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus, sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur, quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset." — *Tacit.* Ger. xlvi.

call themselves Fins, and are so called by the Norwegians. Both branches in their own dialects, call themselves by the same national appellation of Suome or Same, and the old Russian name for both is Sum. The Samoides are the same people with the same common appellation — and the word means, in their common tongue, the inhabitants of the lake-country, or morasses. The Latin word Fenni, is formed apparently from the word still retained in English and Old Swedish, Fen, a morass, and is a translation of the name Suome into a German word.

A curious mistake about the name of this race called Quens, has probably given rise to the fables of a land of Amazons in the north. Adam of Bremen, describing Scandinavia in the ninth century, says, "Gothi habitant usque ad Bircam, postea longis terrarum spatiis regnant Suones usque ad terram fœminarum." In the old northern language Quin signifies a woman, and is a word still in daily use in Norway. We retain in English from the same root, the names given to the two extreme ranks of the female sex, Queen and Quean. Adam of Bremen says he derived his information from the mouth of the Danish king, Swen Ulfsen — "magnam materiam hujus libelli ex ejus ore colligi" — who had made many inroads into Sweden; and Adam, or his amanuensis, in writing from his words, has mistaken Qenornes land, the country of the Quens, for Quinornes land, the country of women; and translated it terra fœminarum.

Every traveller is struck with the number of words

and expressions in Swedish, almost identical with our lowland Scotch of the east coast; and in whole phrases there is a startling similarity. It is not so much the case between Norwegian and Scotch, and one is puzzled to account for this; but the same convulsion in Norway in the ninth century, which drove adventurers to conquer and settle in Northumberland and the north of Scotland, drove settlers also across the Fjelde into Sweden, of which the upper provinces were colonised from the Norwegian side of the Peninsula. These swarms thrown off from the same hive in the same age, have retained in each country words and phrases which they brought with them, while in the mother country the gradual alteration in the ancient language has been going on, as in all other European languages, by the effect of the art of writing — of the eye as well as the ear being applied to words. Another reason may be, that the intercourse between Scotland and Sweden was very considerable in the sixteenth century, much greater than our Scottish historians have noticed. In 1542 there was a treaty between Gustavus Vasa, Francis I., and James V., by which James was to receive the aid of 6000 French troops, to be transported in Swedish vessels to Scotland, at his expense. In 1556 Gustavus Vasa was in treaty for a body of 2000 Scotch troops which he obtained, and employed in his war against Russia in Finland. His sons, in their conflicts with each other, had occasionally as many as 6000 Scotch troops in their service, according to the Swedish historians. In

1573, Charles de Mornay came with 5000 recruits from Scotland, and in 1574, he and a Gilbert Balfour were executed for a conspiracy to liberate king Eric. In 1579, in a quarrel between the Germans and Scotch in the Swedish service, 1500 of the latter were cut down. Gustavus Adolphus had 6000 Scots recruited for his service in the war with Denmark, which preceded the thirty years' war; and in the latter, the Scotch troops in the service of Sweden formed, it is well known, a distinguished part of Gustavus's army. At the same, and down to a late period, there was a considerable trade, or rather intercourse, between the nations carried on by Scotch traders, or properly pedlars, frequenting the fairs in the Swedish provinces on the other side of the Baltic: and Polish krœmers (shopkeepers at fairs) as they were called in Scotland, are still recollected or talked of from tradition, as a respectable class of the trading community of the east coast of Scotland in their day. In Sweden there are among the nobility and upper classes the names of Hamilton, Seaton, Bruce, Maclean, Speus, Montgommerie, Murray, Colquhoun, at the present day; so that it is not surprising that any original similarity between the two languages should have been retained, and even augmented, while in Norway it was dying out.

Both these languages, the modern Swedish and Danish or Norwegian, differ as much from the original mother tongue of the Peninsula or what is supposed to be so, the old Icelandic in which the Saga are written, as modern English from Anglo-

Saxon. An obscurity hangs over this Saga language. It differs widely from Anglo-Saxon of the same period, although evidently branches from the same root, as appears by comparing the Saga of Saint Olaf with the Anglo-Saxon laws of his contemporary, Canute the Great. Comparing also these specimens of the two languages in the first half of the eleventh century, with William the Conqueror's laws of the same century, 1087, we find them both as different from the Norman of that period as from each other. The three languages were evidently as different in the eleventh century as they are now. But the credibility of the Icelandic Saga, as historical evidence, mainly depends upon the assumption, that the language which in the ninth century was carried to Iceland, to Normandy, to England, by the nobility and their followers, whom Haarfagre expelled from Norway, remained unchanged in those countries, and that Scalds coming from Iceland in the eleventh century, and composing their Saga in their native tongue, could be understood at the courts, and among the nobility of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, and Normandy, in that age. In the face of documents of the difference, it is difficult to admit this identity. The difficulty is got over by the assumption that the old Icelandic or original Norse was, like the French of the present day, a language commonly understood and current in those countries, at least among the descendants of the original Norwegian conquerors. But if this assumption were correct, there would

be written documents to be found in those countries, as well as in Iceland, in this common language. The descendants of those who left the common home in the ninth century must have been as numerous in Normandy or Northumberland (which extended over one third of England), as in Iceland; and if they had retained the original tongue, it must have been transmitted to us in writing on many occasions. The laws, for instance, relative to the rights of Danes in Canute's reign, and of Normans in William the Conqueror's, would naturally have been written in this common language, understood by all of Norwegian race. The want of any thing in the Icelandic tongue, not written by Icelanders, the assumption that this tongue was universally understood in other countries, without which assumption the reality of what is said and done in the Saga as a picture of the manners of the times cannot be maintained, the positive difference of the languages in the eleventh century, when they are assumed to be the same, which appears in the written documents of that period, the want of actual manuscripts of Saga that can be assigned to an earlier date than the fourteenth century; all these considerations excite doubts about the historical value of the Saga, at which the Laird of Monkbarns himself might shake his head. A consideration, also, which has its weight in the history of literature, is, that in all countries in nearly the same stage of civilisation, the development of the human powers in literary composition is similar, and in the same spirit, as it

were, however different in degree, in the same ages. There is a common strain running through all the literature of the period, although individual genius soars far above the flight of its contemporaries. Now the spirit of composition of the Saga is very different from that of the venerable Bede, who was contemporary with the heroes and scalds of the historical Saga, or of Adam of Bremen, or from that of Matthew Paris, who was himself in Norway in 1248; but it is not different from that which spread over Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after the impulse given to works of imagination by remembrances or traditions of the crusades and of chivalry. There is a manifest distinction in the history of literature to be made between the compositions which preceded, or were contemporary with the first crusades, and those which in the succeeding ages had caught a spark of fire from the east. The Saga are totally different from the dull chronicles of the former period, but are analogous to and in the spirit of the literature of the latter, in which the adventures of heroes or knights were related by troubadours and minstrels. The Saga are not the production of a single genius soaring above the taste and spirit of his times, but are a voluminous body of literature, and consequently the taste and spirit in which they are composed must have been generally diffused, and, in default of the positive proof of manuscript and date, must be taken as indicative of the real age in which they were composed. Torfæus gives a list of 186 Saga, Müller of about 197; but

of all the manuscripts extant, whether on skin or paper, few, Müller states, can be admitted to be of so early writing as the thirteenth century, the greater number of the fourteenth, and some as late as the seventeenth century. It is more easy to believe that men following the taste and spirit of their own age, composed the Saga about the time when they appear to have been actually committed to writing, giving them out as more ancient productions, and probably not materially altering, although embellishing historical facts, and attaching to them the manners and ideas which they thought suitable, than it is to believe that men composed them four centuries before, anticipating the taste and spirit of composition of later and more civilised ages, and that they were transmitted for 400 years by oral tradition, to be then committed to writing in the original unchanged language; and which, in the course of the next 400 years, has changed so much as to be a dead language even in Iceland itself.

In the present literature of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, the Saga occupy so important a place—their poets, historians, and antiquaries, draw so largely from this source—that to understand them, a knowledge of the Saga mythology is almost as necessary as that of the Greek to understand the classics. This reference to ideas, manners, and modes of living so vaguely known, is probably unfavourable to the development of the literature of these countries. All that relates to the Scandinavian mythological, or heroic age, is

too far removed from our belief and modes of life to be brought home to our feelings or imagination. The genius of Öhlenschlager himself, on whom the Danish critics boast the mantle of Goëthe has descended, fails in the attempt. Thor and Freya are, in European literature, as ineffective poetical machinery as Jupiter and Venus, and must repose on the same lumber shelf. But the foreigner should give his opinion of the literature of a people with reserve. He may understand their language for the ordinary purposes of life, and even of science; but the native only can enter into its poetry, and feel its beauties of expression fully. In Swedish and Danish this reserve is particularly necessary, because both languages are remarkably rich in words consecrated to poetry. Belman, the most celebrated of the Swedish poets, is not intelligible even to many of his countrymen; and the Danish, being a language still more cultivated, and in literature standing next to the German, has a poetic diction far removed from the current language of prose. A man may be able to ask for bread and cheese at a roadside alehouse, and chat with the landlady, or read the newspaper, without being exactly qualified to judge of Shakspeare, Goëthe, Öhlenschlager, Belman, Tegner, Frantzen, or whoever may be of the highest literary name in the country.

Westeraas, June. — A company of soldiers, as I thought from their appearance, of the foot-guards, marched into the town yesterday, and the captain and six men were billeted upon my land-

lord. They were remarkably fine looking grenadiers, well dressed in white round jackets with yellow epaulets, and blue trousers, and all their appointments seemed substantial, clean, and soldier-like. The only part of their equipment, perhaps, not altogether as good as in our service, was copper instead of block-tin canteens. The soldier's ration may often contract acidity, which renders a copper vessel for his soup less suitable. These men were well set up, evidently well drilled, and at ease under arms. Their evening parade upon the street before our door struck me very much. After the roll was called and the reports and orders delivered, the commanding-officer called one of the soldiers out of the ranks, it appeared to me without turn or selection, and the whole company taking off their caps at once, this man repeated the Lord's Prayer, after which they all sung a hymn very beautifully, and the parade was dismissed. This morning early, about two o'clock, the company mustered before the door again to march to their next halting place before the heat of the day set in. Between sleeping and waking, I heard the same service repeated — the Lord's Prayer and a morning hymn sung, before they marched off. The service was not hurried over. It lasted from fifteen to twenty minutes, and was gone through as slowly and solemnly as in any religious meeting. This is a remnant of the military practice of the great Gustavus Adolphus, which has been retained in the Swedish army since the thirty years' war.

I was surprised when my landlord told me to-day, that these soldiers were not of the guards, but merely a company of one of the ordinary regiments, (the Westmanland) going to the place at which the other companies were assembling for summer manœuvres, and that these men were all Indeldta soldiers; that is, soldiers occupying and living upon such little farms as I had often observed on the road side, as in some way connected with the military establishment. This Indeldta system is peculiar to Sweden. It owes its origin to Gustavus Adolphus, the man who, of all historical characters, has the most strikingly anticipated, both in his military and civil ideas, the improvements of our age. He first brought the formation and movements of military bodies into accordance with the weapon they had to use, the musket. Although matchlocks had been introduced long before his time, the pike or spear had not been entirely exploded, and military formations and movements were all in reference to the latter weapon. Tilly's troops at the commencement of the thirty years' war were formed in line nine ranks deep — the spear of sixteen and even eighteen feet long being still considered the main weapon in the soldier's hands. It probably was so. The matchlock was so heavy, that the soldier trailed an iron fork in his hand to stick in the ground, and rest his piece on when he fired. His powder was carried in cartridges dangling to a bandouilliere or belt, going over one shoulder, at the end of which hung his lighted match. The bullets were carried in a

pouch, which our Highland regiments still retain as an ornamental appendage to their dress. He carried a flask of finer powder for priming. It is stated by writers of that period, that in the Austrian service there were one hundred and ninety-nine words of command, before the soldier who had discharged his matchlock had reloaded and fired it again. Gustavus Adolphus changed the art of war. He invented or introduced ball cartridges, cartridge-boxes, flint-locks, light muskets, and the bayonet; and as a consequence of the musket being the sole weapon, he introduced the formation of troops in lines of three ranks, and invented the principles of all modern military movements. His dispositions and movements at the battle of Leipsic are at the present day studied by all military men. He introduced the military organisation of armies now in use, framed articles of war, established courts martial, and as an inventor in the military science, he has left memorials in the system and practice adopted in the armies of all modern nations, of a mind and genius before which the achievements of Buonaparte and his generals sink into mere effort of force. Military colonies, a system which Russia and Austria have lately adopted, are a revival of his conceptions. In 1626 he established a military colony in Livonia, to be in readiness for the defence of his conquests. The peasantry, instead of military contributions and forced recruits or conscripts, had to furnish a fixed number of men, and to provide each soldier with a house, a certain por-

tion of land, assistance of horse-work in ploughing, laying in his fuel, and such fixed matters, dividing the burden among themselves equitably. The soldier had to support himself by his farm, and received no pay unless when called out. This plan of supporting a standing army, although commenced in a conquered country, was found so well adapted to the state of the people in that age when taxes and contributions could produce no money owing to the want of markets, that it began to be adopted at home. Many districts, as matter of favour, begged to be exempt from uncertain military conscription or service, and to be allowed in lieu to support a fixed number of men by giving them land and houses. Each district divided or indeldt among the different farms, in proportion to size and value, the burden of furnishing land, houses, and the legally fixed assistance to these military colonists. The system was only experimentally begun by Gustavus, but in 1680 it was fully established by Charles XI., and continues with little alteration to the present day. A regular standing force of infantry, cavalry, and seamen is supported on this principle in the country. The men receive pay only when called out, which at present is only for a few weeks in summer, after their crops are in the ground. When absent on duty from their farms, there is a certain fixed assistance which they are entitled to, for saving their crops or sowing their land. On Sundays those of each parish are mustered by the under officers. The regimental officers received also dwellings and

crown lands according to their ranks, to subsist upon when not on actual duty, and had only a trifling pay besides allowed them, but now the chiefs or commanding officers only have estates to live upon. The seamen of the navy are supported along the coast upon the same principle, in little farms. Cavalry horses are also provided and supported by the farmers of a certain extent of land, the farmer having the use of the horse under certain restrictions, when not in service, and receiving compensation for the time he is taken away. The demand for men in the mad wars of Charles XII. and in our times in the late wars, occasioned frequent breaches of the original contract, so that conscription was resorted to in those districts which were paying the equivalent in land, houses, and recruits, upon the Indeldta system. It was one of the justly grounded complaints against the last of the Vasa dynasty, that this original compact was set aside, and the country oppressed by conscriptions, without any of those brilliant results which gave a compensation at least in national glory, when Charles XII. disregarded it in his levies. The conscription, however, is still retained. The Swedish army at the present day consists of three kinds of troops — enlisted soldiers always on pay and duty — indeldta soldiers — and the conscription or land defence, of whom a portion are occasionally called out to exercise. The enlisted troops amount to 5900 men, viz., 2200 foot-guards, 1000 horse-guards, and 2700 artillery-men. The indeldta troops are 26,914 men, viz. 8705 cavalry, and

23,209 infantry; and the whole army amounts to 32,814 men. The conscription, land defence, or landsturm, can scarcely be reckoned in an estimate of an army as effective force. The whole artillery force of the kingdom appears very trifling, considering that the artillerist cannot be formed like the infantry soldier, in a short and interrupted course of practice. The enlisted troops are always on duty in and about the capital; — and I understand the fine old custom of Gustavus's morning and evening parade is not kept up in this part of the army. The average expense to the state of six regiments of 1200 rank and file each, of the indeldta troops in one year, was 19,799 banco dollars each regiment; but then the expense to each district, for equipping and supporting these troops with land, houses, and assistance, when not on pay, is estimated to amount to about 85,500 banco dollars per regiment. Thus on an average, each indeldta regiment of 1200 men, costs the country about 105,000 banco dollars, or 8500*l.* sterling; and for this sum, regiments, which for men, accoutrements, and all military essentials, appear equal to any troops, are kept on foot. Whether men who have wives and families, cows and pigs, and all the other concerns of civil life upon their shoulders, as well as the firelock and knapsack, can be as good soldiers as those who have no duty or home but what is altogether military, depends upon the use for which the soldier is wanted. Sweden has no garrisons to maintain in distant lands. The defence of her soil is now all the military operation she can ever

attempt, for offensive war is out of all question in the modern European system, with such trifling means as Sweden now can command — for in truth, the whole of her disposeable moveable force for co-operation in the field with other powers beyond Swedish territory, is the 5900 men of enlisted regiments always on pay and duty. For the defence of the country, the married indeldta soldier is altogether as effective as the enlisted man in constant service: but for any secondary purpose of modern warfare not involving the safety of the country, this description of soldier is evidently not available at all. Besides the 32,814 men of regular and indeldta troops, the land defence is sufficiently organised to make up a total force on paper of 95,518 men — and as the Swedes are a military and brave people, they would undoubtedly, be able to defend their country against a Russian invasion, if their artillery were in order. An artillery corps of twenty-seven hundred men, in a flat country penetrated by good roads, and with an enemy to be prepared against, of whose force a numerous artillery is a main branch, appears a joke upon the Swedish defensive measures. The whole Swedish army according to official reports, may be concentrated for defence at the following points, in the following times, from receiving marching orders: — At Stockholm, in sixty-one days, or by forced marches in thirty-five, but three fourths of the army in twenty-nine days, or by forced marches in sixteen, and half of the army in twenty-eight days, or by forced marches in sixteen. At Christianstad on the south coast,

in eighty-five days, by forced marches in forty-one; but three fourths of the army in thirty-five days, by forced marches in seventeen, and half of the army in twenty-six days, or by forced marches in fourteen. At Wenersberg, at the south end of the Wener lake, and within forty miles of the coast at Gottenburg, in seventy-six days, by forced marches in thirty-nine; but three fourths of the army in twenty-three days, by forced marches in fifteen; and half of the army in twenty-one days, by forced marches in twelve. This gives a lamentable view of the means of defence of the Swedish government against foreign invasion. An enemy lands at once with all his force; and to oppose him it will require from eighty-five to sixty-one days to draw together 32,000 men, and from sixteen to fourteen days to collect even 16,000 at any point on the Baltic coast, from the metropolis southwards. The country to the north of Stockholm is obviously the most exposed to hostile invasion, as it is within a few hours' sail of the coast of another power: yet, in this official document, no notice is taken of the time required to concentrate troops at Gefle, Sundsvald, or any point in that quarter. A rather important element of military movement seems left out of consideration in these official calculations — provisions on routes of sixty or eighty days' march. The country certainly could not feed a single regiment on any road, without some previous arrangement.

The condition of the Swedish soldier is superior, under the indeldta system to that of our own, or

any other military. His little farm is sufficient to support a family in his station very comfortably; and the character of the soldier has risen with his comforts. It is rare, I understand, to see one of them intoxicated. Certificates of character and conduct are required, to be allowed to enlist in these troops. It is stated, as a proof of their comfortable condition, that in 1830, when forty-eight of these soldiers were drowned by accident in crossing a river, it was found that forty-four were married men, leaving one hundred and fifty-five children, or three and a half to each marriage, and as they were in the prime of life, the average of their families if they had lived, would probably have considerably exceeded that of marriages in the best districts of Europe, the average of which is four and a half children to each marriage.

There is an enormous disproportion of officers of the higher rank to the men of this power. The peace establishment of France is reckoned 310,000 men with 448 general officers, or 1 for every 742 soldiers; of Austria, 272,000 men and 364 generals, or 1 to 747 men; of Prussia, 120,000 men, and 81 generals, or 1 to 1482 men; and of this little power 33,000, and 73 generals, 1 to 452 men, or twice as many nearly in proportion to the men as France or Austria, and about three times as many as Prussia. The crown prince of Sweden has 20 aid-de-camps and 14 adjutants, the crown prince of France 3 aid-de-camps, the crown prince of Prussia 3 adjutants. These proportions, which may not be correct, being merely a newspaper re-

port, would only prove the great preponderance in the state of the aristocracy, who must be gratified with military rank or pay, whether necessary or not for the public service.

Westeraas, June.—People are extravagantly fond in this country of titles, and the taste has spread deeply and widely through society. Madame and Mam'selle are the equivalents for Mrs. and Miss, and Fru and Fröken, for My Lady and the unmarried My Lady. But you would be grievously out in your good manners, if you were to go into a shop and address the mistress as Madame. It is an equal chance she is My Lady. There are a great many offices merely nominal, which give the rank entitling the man's wife to be called Her Ladyship. I am not yet fully master of this branch of etiquette. In the military line it goes as low as the rank of a lieutenant's wife, in the clerical to that of a priest. In civil function, the landwaiter in the customs, the clerks in public offices, and even the accredited deputies of the clerks, have the felicity of hearing their wives called My Lady; and a whole host of nominal assessors, councillors, and such dignities, confer the same rank. I had almost fallen into the inexcusable error of calling a bookbinder's wife Madame, but fortunately my ear caught the word Fru going as glibly as if her husband carried the portefeuille, instead of making it. The title of Mam'selle is a degree above that of Jomfru. The barmaid is Mam'selle, but the girl who waits is only Jomfru, and below the Jomfru in dignity and title, is the

Flikka—the simple girl. This ridiculous vanity is not so very innocent a foible, if it takes the place of higher and more moral grounds of distinction with the middle classes, and if people in the ordinary ranks of life come to be gratified with conventional distinctions, not founded on their industry, property, or social worth in their stations. This false estimate appears very prevalent in Sweden. In reading the little political *brochures* and speculations of the periodical press, the stranger must be struck with the inordinate importance they give to personal distinctions. The title of Excellence, or the Order of the Seraphim, are stated in their political views as serious objects and motives of action for public men in public affairs. The public mind must be in a state to accept of this as reasonable, or it would not be presented to it. The value of public opinion, of those positions beyond all titles or orders, which Pitt, Fox, Canning, O'Connell, take from it, is unknown and incomprehensible to them.

Westeraas, June.—There is a huge brick cathedral in this town, but although ancient, it has the appearance of having just come out of the bricklayer's hands, the bricks having been all cleaned and scoured with great pains, until they have regained their original bright red, and the seams between them new whitened with lime. A red and white striped calico gown is quite as grand. Brick is an unfortunate material to compose a gothic building in; for it is not susceptible of the fine tracery, archwork, and ornament of the cut stone

edifices in that style. In this church I found no tombstones more ancient than the 16th century. The cathedral service is kept up here strictly, this being the see of a bishop, but apparently not more to the edification of the people than in cathedral towns in England. On hearing the bells ring I went in on a week day evening. The clerk, with a remarkably fine voice, was singing a psalm, the clergyman read the service, and I was congregation.

This town has a port with vessels of 100 tons burden or more loading iron in it. These vessels, however, are not confined to the Malare lake, but can get into the Baltic through a sluice or lock at Stockholm. A great deal of business is transacted here, it being a central market for the supply of the iron manufacturers in the adjacent country. The iron works are very numerous in this quarter, but are on a very small scale.

Stockholm, June.— I had heard much of the beauty of the scenery on the Malare lake, and after stopping some time at Westeraas, I resolved to go by a steam vessel down the lake to Stockholm. I embarked my cariole, my luggage, and myself, one fine morning in the Ingve Fry. I was puzzled to discover who this Mr. Ingve Fry was, who had given his name to a smart little steam-boat. He was no historical or newspaper acquaintance of mine. I set him down, therefore, for some eminent brugs patron — iron masters are so called — or ship-builder in Westeraas. But Ingve, it seems, was the son of Nor, the son of Gor, the son of Odin, and I

had to blush for my ignorance. The Swedes are well read in all that kind of traditionary history, or literature, in which imagination has full play; but seem less acquainted with the leading historical events in their own history, in which exactitude of fact and date is required. Fancy is more exercised than judgment among them.

The scenery on this lake is very soft and beautiful — wooded points of land crossing each other — wooded islands rising behind each other — the woods dipping into the waters without visible shore between — and these not the stern spear-like pines of the Norwegian lakes, bristling against the sky, but rounded, wide spreading masses of foliage and shade from beech, plane, and luxuriant drooping birch trees. The country is not flat, but has no abrupt elevations, and runs with long gentle wooded slopes into the lake. In about ten hours, you are awakened from the dreaminess of a succession of scenery resembling the finest ideas which the delusion of the scenes of a theatre attempts to represent, to the reality of landing in the most comfortless city in Europe for the stranger to enter. Here are no inns or hotels, no porters, or masters waiting on the quay, recommending their superb or respectable accommodations to the traveller, thrusting their cards into his hand, and only waiting his nod to whisk him and his luggage away in a coach or drosky to a comfortable apartment. The traveller must search for lodgings ready to receive him. As the weather was fine, I had dined on board, and as it was only four o'clock, I took the business leisurely,

put a sentry over my luggage, that is, hired one of the ship boys to watch it on the quay, and took a ramble through the principal streets, calling at every house on which I saw the notice "Rum for Resande," — room for travellers. There was no scarcity of such accommodations, although the visit of the Russian crown prince, and of the emperor must have brought many of the nobility and gentry to the metropolis; and in a country of such cultivated musical taste, the performances of Mr. Ole Bull must have attracted many more. Several passengers in our steam-boat had no other object, and all Swedes are performers on some musical instrument, and understand music. The houses, in general, have common stairs like those of Edinburgh, the suite of rooms on each floor being a family house, and going round a little open court in the middle of the building. The ground-floor is generally occupied as shops towards the street, and as cellars in the back part for the families living above: and the houses are generally of three stories with attics, and large. I took lodgings near the palace, therefore, I suppose, in a good situation, at ten dollars banco, or about seventeen shillings per week, which is dearer than the rate in most continental towns. The furniture, paper, and such things in the houses I saw, are flashy, as we would call it, but not substantial; and many little articles of household goods which we are accustomed to see in the meanest lodgings, such as window blinds, bed curtains, wash-hand stands, basins, ewers, chests of drawers, are not to be found, or are very

flimsy: but there are mirrors, sofas, lustres, French engravings, and such ornamental articles of ten times the value of the essentials that are wanting. I should like to have travelled in this country with Fielding or Smollett, to enjoy the fuming of the testy old gentleman at all those little discrepancies in living, which his genius would have magnified into national delinquencies. It is rather difficult for the entire stranger to find a respectable place where he can dine or sup. In other cities, if a traveller goes without his dinner, it is because he has no money to pay for it: here it may be because he sees no decent place to spend his money in. There are two club-houses, called the great and little societies, like the club-houses in London, one for the nobility, the other for the mercantile class, who are, in fact, a sort of nobility, holding, as a class, the same exclusive position and privilege in the pursuits of industry and trade, that the other class holds in military or civil service. All native travellers, and almost all foreigners belong to one or other of those classes, and have letters to members by which they are introduced to, and live at those club-houses. It is from England only that there may chance to come a stray traveller like me, neither noble, military, mercantile, nor scientific, and who in a land of class and privilege may be at a loss; but the number of such would be too small to support an hotel or inn, as in cities more on the highway of the world. I found at last a restauration in Queen Street (Drottning's Gade), where such nondescripts dine, a coffee-house where one

can get bread and chocolate for breakfast — tea-water, as the Swedes justly call their infusion of a single teaspoonful of tea in a kettle full of water, not being to my taste — and a pavilion in a public walk behind the theatre, where one can get a cigar and a cup of coffee in the evening, so that my housekeeping is arranged. The Swedish table d'hôte is not like those of France or Germany. There is a long covered table with the linen, plates, knives and forks, and glasses unexceptionably nice, and decorated with flowers in the centre; but there is nothing to eat upon it. At a side table there is bread and butter, cheese, anchovies, radishes, and anise brandy, and on the main table, a *carte*, or list of dishes. Each person orders a portion of what he wishes, and while it is getting ready, he is busy at this side table laying a foundation for his dinner. This side table whet is in universal use in Sweden, and at large entertainments in Norway. It was so in Scotland also in days of old; and it is still a standing joke that the people of Dunbar used to eat a Solan goose to give them an appetite for dinner. The custom, in truth, had its origin in both countries from the same cause — poverty, or rather want of markets. The guest was invited to eat fresh fish, fresh meat, or whatever good or rare dish his host had been able to procure, but not to dine on it, for the quantity might not always extend to dining a party of hungry men. The preliminary dinner of the ordinary fare of the country prevented any short commons at a feast. I see the *sup*, as it is called, used exactly in this way at my restaura-

teur's. There is a fixed price for it; people make a very hearty half dinner of it, and then only use a small portion of the dainty and more costly fare on the *carte*. In higher society the original purpose is lost, although the custom is retained as stimulating the appetite, it is said, before dinner. There are several Swedish dishes which I have not yet got accustomed to: We must have all animal food roasted or boiled. In northern cookery, they have a third way of dressing meat. Ham, bacon, salt beef, geese, reindeer flesh, salmon, herrings, and probably other things which I have not met with, are spikadt, that is, hung up in wood smoke a little time, and then eaten, as we would call it, raw, without boiling, broiling, or roasting.

The royal palace is the object which first and last fixes the traveller's eye at Stockholm. In every view of the city, this noble building attracts his attention from all other objects. Its chaste style unincumbered with unmeaning ornaments, as in our abortive attempts at Grecian architecture, its vast volume, its effect on the mind of the spectator as a grand object — an effect produced, no doubt, by the architect's skill in being simple, and not distracting the attention by superfluity of breaks and details in his masses, place this edifice among the few modern structures which have attained the end and aim of the art — the impressing the beholder with an unmixed feeling of grandeur. What are our public buildings about Edinburgh, our churches, hospitals, squares, street-fronts, with all their pillars, porticos, pilasters, cornices, and carved work,

compared to the composition and effect of this chaste and grand building? — minced pies, pastry-cook work in freestone. As a work of mind and taste we might as well compare Tom Thumb to Hamlet, as any of our palaces or public buildings to this. Our material, however, is better and more beautiful. It is singular how much we are influenced in matters of taste by remote and often unreasonable associations of ideas. I had repeatedly, and from many points of view, admired this edifice and its happy situation, in a vast open space, through which a body of living water rushes into a lake, yet in the centre of a city, the stream, the bridge, the columns, the statues, even the lake, the shipping, and the throng of passing people, all kept in accord by due distances with the scene, and contributing to as parts or concomitants, instead of disturbing the main architectural effect; but it was some days before I happened to examine the materials of the structure. It fell vastly in my estimation when I found the groundwork and lower story only were of solid stone, and that the greater part of the building was of brick and stucco. Why should this be? There is more skill and ingenuity required to the making and putting together of bricks and stucco, than to the quarrying stones and building walls of them. Why, in this case, should the greater effort of the human powers be the least esteemed? Is it that the mind is naturally averse to being deceived? Brick and stucco wall is but an imitation of stone, and we cannot help associating inferiority with imitation, and a dislike also to have

our own discernment deceived, or put to the test by it. The pleasure, perhaps, in seeing a great actor on the stage is not that he deceives us into the momentary belief that he is Hamlet or King Richard; but that the nearer he comes to that point, the more intense is our own self-satisfaction at the lurking consciousness in our minds that we, after all, are not deceived, that we know him to be but Mr. Kean.

The numerous public buildings, palaces, columns, statues, gardens, parks, and views in Stockholm and its environs, have been so often described by travellers, and so much better in the ordinary guide-books with plans and lithographic prints, that it is unnecessary to repeat the thrice-told tale. I infer from the whole of the objects which the traveller sees in this city, that the taste of the Swedish people for the beauty of form in the fine arts, is far more advanced and developed than ours. They owe this to Gustavus III., to whom many of these objects of the fine arts are to be ascribed. He was a man of distinguished taste and talent. In manners and fascinating address he was the first gentleman of his age, and he spread refinement and elegance around him. His court was the most gay, splendid, and profligate in the north. His influence unfortunately was not confined to the taste of the people for the fine arts; but is visible in their morals, manners, and national character at the present day.

Stockholm was in 1830, a city of 80,621 inhabitants, but it is declining, the population in June

last being reckoned only 77,500. On an average of ten years the deaths have exceeded the births by 895 yearly. The city appears not to be in an unhealthy situation. The water is abundant and running in a current sufficient to prevent stagnation. The inhabitants even of the lowest class are not crowded, or badly lodged, compared to the same classes in Edinburgh or Hamburgh. I have gone through the dirtiest lanes and suburbs, and here the people are certainly better lodged than in our large cities. The space covered by the city appears very large for 80,000 people, compared to other towns; and open spaces, public buildings, walks, quays, and the lakes or inlets of water are numerous. The cause of this mortality must be moral or political, not physical — in their habits or means of living, not in the unwholesomeness of their situation. Stockholm was not always a declining city, kept up by draughts from the country. There are probably not more deaths, but fewer marriages or births than in other towns of the same population.

There are few or no great mansions of nobility, hotels of embassadors, or first-rate houses of private gentlemen, to be seen in Stockholm; and the traveller wonders where the embassadors of foreign powers have contrived to lodge themselves suitably to the dignity they represent. This metropolis appears very magnificent at first view from the great number of public buildings, monuments, statues, and spacious well-built quays, and the splendid palace above all; but take these orna-

mental structures away, and Stockholm remains a poorly built town, with few very bad, and few good houses, or such as would be considered of the first class in other cities. I had formed an erroneous idea of the Swedish nobility. I had imagined they were a rich and splendid class, living like the Russian nobles, in a kind of Asiatic magnificence; but they are, with few exceptions, extremely poor, living from civil or military employment with small pay; or on their farms in great obscurity and poverty. There are few signs of luxury or opulence in Stockholm. The number of private carriages is very small. I counted only thirteen at the door of the Opera-house, when Ole Bull had attracted to it all the fashionable world and some of the royal family. The display of goods in the best shops in the streets, is of very small value, and shows that no considerable number of the inhabitants are buying and using the comforts, embellishments, or luxuries of life. The dealing seems not in general divided — the grocer deals in earthenware, the clothier in hats or sadlery — which betokens a small and poor body of consumers. I have amused myself with endeavouring to ascertain and analyse the component parts of this population, from the best information I could obtain. There are only 2306 persons of the manufacturing class, including their labourers in Stockholm, 781 merchants or wholesale dealers, 1807 retail shopkeepers, 1036 tradesmen of all kinds, employing 1605 journeymen, 2099 apprentices, and 465 other persons, and 721 seamen including shipmasters. This makes a total of

10,819 persons living by the producing or circulating the necessaries or conveniencies of life. The consuming class consists of 2794 persons in civil, 4258 in military, 544 in clerical and educational functions: thus 7596 persons living on public pay or office; also 1556 nobles of both sexes who have possibly something to live upon of their own; and 11,461 persons of condition of both sexes, who have property — although of the two latter classes many are, no doubt, already reckoned with those in civil or military service. We have thus 20,613 persons who have means of living, and are the consuming class; 10,819 who live by supplying their wants, and are also a consuming as well as a producing class, and altogether 31,432 persons having visible means of living as capitalists, annuitants, or producers. This leaves 46,068 persons out of the whole population of the town (77,500) who have no capital, income, trade, or fixed means of living. These, of course, are but approximations, but they prove a very great proportion of the population of Stockholm to be in idleness and want. The cause of the diminishing population is probably in the distress of this class. The demand for labour in a town which is not a manufacturing place, is nearly stationary. The same quantity of labour only is wanted each year; and vacancies are easily filled up at a cheaper and cheaper rate every year, from the new supply flowing in from the country. In this climate, also, seven months of the twelve are cut off for all out-door work for the labouring man. He must earn in five months his current subsistence,

and also subsistence, fuel, light, and clothing, for the seven months in which he has no constant work. To save this requires more steadiness and forethought than is found among the labouring class here, and they die not perhaps directly from starvation, but indirectly from the effects of extreme destitution, or of desperate intoxication induced by misery.

The great number of well dressed people you see in the streets seems opposed to the conclusion that the mass of the population of Stockholm is in a declining state, and sunk in misery. But a population increases or diminishes as it is well or ill off—and the statistical fact that the capital of the country does not breed up to its losses by death, but with all the accession of new inhabitants from the country has a deficit yearly in its population, proves that it is not in a flourishing condition. The number of well dressed people proves only that one class is well off; and if supported by the public, is by far too numerous for the well being of the country. The Swede also has a remarkable fondness for dress; and dresses well, converses well, dances well, has ease and elegance about him in stations in which in other countries people would be totally devoid of such accomplishments. This is the influence of a court in a small city. To appear well is their law of existence. I account in this way for the discrepancy of great poverty and distress, and a declining condition, established by statistical facts, amidst finery and apparent luxury of clothing in the streets of this city.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXERCISE OF INDUSTRY ABROAD IS PROPERTY. — REASONS. — EFFECTS OF THIS SYSTEM. — ON THE CONTINENT. — IN SWEDEN. — BRITAIN THE ONLY EXCEPTION. — PROBABLE RESULTS. — M. CRUZENSTOLPE. — HIS TRIAL. — AGITATION OF STOCKHOLM. — TUMULTS. — COUNT FERSEN'S MURDER IN 1810, CONNIVED AT. — CHARLES XIII.'S CHARACTER. — WAR BETWEEN THE PERIODICAL PRESS AND THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT. — THE NEWSPAPERS. — AFTONBLAD. — CIRCULATION. — PRICE. — EDITORIAL TALENT IN SWEDISH AND NORWEGIAN NEWSPAPERS.

June. — In the construction of society abroad, a principle scarcely known in our social arrangements has the most important influence on the moral and physical condition of the middle class. In our social structure, the only kinds of property acknowledged and protected by law, are land and the produce of industry; or what is termed real and personal property. Abroad there is a third species of property as fully established and protected by the laws and institutions of society as the other two. The exercise of industry is a property as well as its produce. It is not merely the table, the spade, the loaf of bread, or the money acquired by the making or dealing in these articles, that is property secured by law to the individual whose industry has produced them; but the exercise of this industry, as a carpenter, smith, baker, or mer-

chant, is also a property vested in particular individuals or classes of the community. The principle of this appropriation by a part of the community, of what we in our social state consider the common right of every individual to the free exercise of his own industry, has not been sufficiently examined by political economists. It is usually treated of as a barbarous remnant of the institutions of the middle ages, in which incorporations of the crafts or trades with privileges, powers, and internal government, were encouraged in the towns, as a counterpoise and check to the powers of the nobles. But in every age and country this appropriation seems to have influenced the laws and institutions of society. The principle may be traced in the castes of the population of India, in the division of ancient Rome, and of all Eastern cities into quarters for different trades, in the social arrangements of the South Sea islanders, of the Esquimeaux, and of the most uncivilised tribes, acknowledging indeed scarcely any other kind of property. It must have some more deeply seated root than in accidental institutions prolonged by the corporation spirit of monoply, beyond the existence of the causes which gave them birth. The combinations of workmen, or trades unions of the present day, prove the existence of an obscure feeling even among us, that there is or should be a right of property to the exercise of industry and acquired skill. The subject is curious. Suppose a hundred emigrants landed upon an island in the mouth of the Swan river, and that five or six betook themselves

to the making of clothes and hatchets for the rest, would it be very absurd in principle if the five or six were to say to the others, "We have all landed in this little world of ours, equal in our natural rights—no man has a better right than another to appropriate to himself any part of the land or its produce, and if we give up to you our natural right to the land by which you live, it is but just that you should give up to us your natural right to the exercise of the kinds of industry by which we live —the crafts of the blacksmith and tailor—each kind of property being of course subject to such conditions, regulations, or limitations as our government may find necessary for the general good of our community." It seems difficult to deny that labour may be property upon the same principle that land is property—the expediency of such appropriation for the general good of society. This expediency is admitted in the practice of all European countries except Great Britain. She formally abrogated all restraints upon the free exercise of industry by the act of 1624; but in the social structure of Europe she is in this the exception, not the rule; and may in reality be considered as in the middle of a great experiment, of which the ultimate effects upon the well-being of her community, and their physical and moral condition are not yet developed.

The appropriation of the exercise of industry by laws and institutions has evidently been resorted to in every country, from the expediency of checking the undue increase of population beyond employ-

ment, in those classes not directly engaged in the production of food. It may be doubted whether any European country, except Britain, be physically in the situation to throw off in its domestic policy, this or some equivalent restraint upon local or partial excess of population. The principles of political economy are not like those of morality or justice, the same for all societies in all situations. The position of Britain on the globe, her dense population, her small fertile and level surface, her facilities of land and water carriage, her fire-power, water-power, and her climate interrupting less the course of daily work by extremes of heat or cold than any in Europe, make those principles of political economy on which she may act, not necessarily adapted for, or safe for other countries. Prussia seemed disposed to enter the lists as a manufacturing and commercial country; but has taken the alarm, and replaced some of those restrictions of the old system upon the freedom of trade which she had relaxed. Sweden and Britain are the two extreme cases of the opposite principles, the appropriation of, and the entire freedom of the exercise of industry. Without venturing to reason about which may be the best for the well-being of a community, I shall merely state the facts and observations relative to this subject that fall in my way in this country; and the more fully, because the same system prevails in the rest of Europe.

In Sweden, and I believe over all the Continent, every trade or branch of industry that can be thought of, excepting perhaps common labour in

husbandry, is exercised by privilege; and as the tradesman pays a tax to government for his privilege, or right to exercise his trade, he is entitled to protection from law—like any other proprietor—against whatever would diminish its value and injure his means of living and paying his tax,—that is, against free competition. The public, on the other hand, must have protection from the monopoly which this want of competition would establish. Government attempts to hold the balance, to correct through its colleges of commerce, and on the reports of its local functionaries, the tendency to monopoly in these institutions, and to judge whether, in any particular locality, there be, from the additional population, room for an additional tradesman or dealer with advantage to the public. In the old peopled countries, the increase of population is too slow to require any sudden or extraordinary changes in this balance, when once fixed; and what has been established continues. The nature of those incorporations themselves, which include all the middle and working classes, tends also to keep down any sudden increase of population. A man of these classes cannot, generally speaking, marry, and rear a family, before he is established in a fixed home and means of living, as a master tradesman privileged to carry on his trade. But to be entitled to set up as a master, he must first serve an apprenticeship of five, seven, or in some vocations, of ten years; and by the internal laws of the incorporation, each master can only take a certain number of apprentices. He must

then serve a journeymanship for a certain number of years, generally for four or six. This is not all; he must then travel as a journeyman for at least two, in some trades for four or more years, working at his trade for his improvement. He carries his passports and certificates with him, and at each town he comes to, he is allowed by the incorporation of his own trade there, to seek employment among its masters. If he can find none, he receives subsistence and travelling money out of the box of the incorporation, to proceed on his way. This is a matter of right established by law or custom over all the Continent, for subsisting and passing on the wandering journeymen. As their own young journeymen are also out on their travels, the stranger journeyman can generally find employment in his trade for the few *weeks* which the regulations of the incorporation allow him to stop. After wandering about from town to town in this way, he returns as a master-journeyman entitled to claim admission as a master in his craft. But to obtain this step he must prepare a masterpiece or specimen of his workmanship, which is judged of by the heads of his incorporation. In the mercantile line, he must, after a similar service in a counting house, undergo an examination by the merchants of the place, in foreign languages, book-keeping, calculation of exchanges, &c., before he can obtain the privilege to trade with his own capital, even in those lines of business in which such acquirements are not necessary. In handicraft and retail trades, the young man must, after

all this waste of time, wait for a vacancy in the place where he wishes to settle, in order to get a privilege, unless circumstances admit, in the opinion of the local authorities, that an additional master may be privileged with advantage to the public. This system is not confined to the towns, but extends to the country also. Places, as well as persons, are privileged for trade, or for home or foreign commerce, according to the judgment of government of the wants of the district.

The advantages of the system are, that it acts as a powerful check upon increase of population beyond subsistence, by throwing back the period of marriage in those working classes among whom increase goes on without reference to the production of food by their labour; and that it secures the man a subsistence for his family by his trade, when he does marry. It also gives a sense of property to the whole of the working class. The youngest apprentice has a property vested in him for the time he has served, which is gradually accumulating, until at last it brings him, as a master, to a certain subsistence which others cannot injure or deprive him of. This certainty of subsistence, this right of property in the exercise of their acquired skill and labour, relieves this class from the unceasing care, anxiety, and over-exertion, in which our working population pass their lives. It places them in a happier condition. They have leisure to cultivate even the finer tastes; and it is not uncommon to find on the Continent good musicians, amateurs of gardening, of the theatre, of social

amusements, among a class who, with us, have frequently no taste for other enjoyment than the excitement of strong liquors after extreme toil, and no leisure, owing to the pressure of competition, to cultivate any other. It prevents a sudden flow of population to particular spots, an evil which in Britain would not be felt, because a supply of food would flow as fast as the demand; but which on the Continent in general, from the state of cross-country roads, the want of water carriage in winter, and the great extent and bad soil of the mass of the land, would produce local distress and famine. It prevents also much misery in society, by preventing a greater number of human beings from being brought into existence, or at least from being bred to any particular trade, than can find a subsistence without encroaching on the means of living of those already existing. It also furnishes a very considerable part of the revenue of all the continental states, as the master workman pays a yearly tax for his privilege. This is the fair side of the system—let us now look at the other.

The young artisan, at the period of life when he should be acquiring manual dexterity in his trade, and habits of steady industry and application, is wandering like a vagabond from town to town, without fixed home, or constant work, and is subsisted, like a pauper, from the box of his trade, in the towns through which he passes; while their youth are also wandering, and supported on the same demoralising principle in their peregrinations. It is this moving mass of power beneath the surface of

society — the whole youth of the Continent, between the ages of twenty and five and thirty, wandering from town to town as privileged vagabonds — which makes those secret associations on the Continent, called the young Germany, the Burschenshaft, &c., in reality formidable. The students at the universities are too inconsiderable in numbers*, too widely dispersed, and too dependent for future subsistence upon public function, to give any ground of alarm to the continental governments; and they might rave poetry or politics over their ale with impunity, if they were not in the position to be the teachers, the leaders, the officers, by means of these secret associations, of this mass of power, ready to explode at the touch of any political fanatic — and this mighty mass is, all over the Continent, in similar contact with the soldiery. The earnestness with which the governments in Germany have endeavoured to put down secret associations of the students at their universities, appears to us very disproportionate to their importance; because we see only what is above the surface — the two or three thousand students — not the vast mass under it, which they might set in movement. The system undoubtedly endangers the safety of the political fabrics of the Continent. It injures also their moral condition, industry, and wealth. The living and estimation of the tradesman, does not depend, as with us, mainly upon his character and moral worth in his social station,

* 9791 students, foreigners included, was the total number in 1818, at all the universities of Germany.—*Politisches Journ.*

but on his privilege. He stands much in the same position as a remarkably expert workman does with us — one who cannot be parted with, and whose dexterity in his trade makes him a kind of privileged man. Such a person is usually the worst character of all his fellow-workmen, because he depends not upon his moral worth, but upon his superior dexterity. Here there is the same effect; but it is not even upon dexterity, but upon his privilege, that the workman depends — upon his right to exclude a better workman and a better man, from enjoying any portion of public favour in the exercise of the same trade, where the competition could be injurious to his means of living. The consequences of this want of free competition are visible in the most simple and necessary trades — those in which national labour, and consequently national industry and wealth are most concerned. Smith-work, joiner-work, work in leather, in cloth, in short, all kinds of work, are very imperfectly executed, compared to the work of English tradesmen in the same line; are never ready at the time proposed; and are performed with great waste of time and labour. To plane a board, for instance, is the work of two men, one shoving the plane from him, the other drawing it to him. With us, one man planes the roughest board, and reduces it to a smooth surface. To cross-cut a piece of wood of eighteen or twenty inches in diameter, is done with us with a hand-saw, by one man, who holds the wood fast with his left hand, or with his knee. Here, it is a job for two men with a two-handled

saw, and often a third is attending to hold the piece of wood steady. In national economy, these are no trifles. A waste of time and labour in the daily work of a nation is important.

The taste of a people for neatness, finish and perfection, in every thing they use, is of far more importance to civilisation, and betokens a much higher social condition than a taste for the fine arts. In England this taste is remarkably developed. All kinds of work, from the inside of the eye of a needle to the machinery of a steam engine, must be neat, finished, and perfect, to please the English public. Abroad we see classical forms, well-combined colours, furniture, such as chairs, sofas, beds, window draperies, produced in a taste, as to figure and colour, and an imperfection as to execution, to which our tradesmen are equally strangers: and look behind these — the window frames, hinges, fastenings, door locks, and all the wood work, and metal work, even in a palace, are of a roughness and imperfection of workmanship, which a farmer's wife in England would not tolerate in her sitting parlour. The workmen, wandering about in their youth, have not acquired the manual expertness to make neat work. The public taste, having only clumsy workmen to gratify it, is formed upon clumsy work, and is satisfied with imperfect execution; and this low state of public taste, in all that regards the comforts and arts of civilised life, which is quite compatible with a refined taste in the fine arts, is a necessary result of this system of restriction.

The working of this system upon national wealth and industry is strikingly illustrated by a case I saw lately reported in a Danish newspaper. A person had ordered a still to be made by a coppersmith on some particular plan. The brass cocks and fittings had, of course, to be cast and adjusted to the machine, as one of the most essential of its parts. But a coppersmith is not entitled to cast metal; that belongs to the corporation of girdlers (the girdle is a flat plate of cast-iron, for baking oat cakes upon); and the coppersmith was prosecuted for unlawfully exercising a trade belonging to another class of tradesmen. It was in vain that he urged the necessity of a workman completing within his own workshop all the parts of a machine, proportioning their dimensions to each other, and fitting them so as to work together: it was a breach of the corporation law, and he was fined. In Sweden, from its isolated position, and political division into classes, this system is in considerable vigour. With us, every thing is lawful that law does not prohibit; here the maxim appears to be, that nothing is lawful but what law permits. Where law is silent, special permission from government is held to be necessary, even to exercise any of the numerous branches of industry which have come into existence since the simpler trades were incorporated. The following is a list of the different manufactories for which the royal permission was obtained in one year, from 1835 to 1836. It gives a curious picture of the state of industry in the Swedish nation under this restrictive system: —

Two of ribbons; one of children's toys; one of gilding; one of lace-making; nine of cotton and linen spinning; eight of cotton cloth; one of cigars; one of chemical apparatus; two of composition or gypsum; one of cloth dressing; three of eau de Cologne; sixteen of colours; forty-two of tanning leather; one of glass; one of guitars; three of hats; twenty-three of weaving; one of musical instruments; two of baskets; three of playing cards; two of varnish; one of varnished leather; one of lint dressing; two of machines; two of iron work; two of oil; seven of paper; one of umbrellas; four of potash; one of porcelain painting; thirteen of ropes; three of Turkey leather; one of sail cloth; eight of silk; one of sieves; one of ship building; nine of joiners' work; two of candles; twelve of carpets; twenty of snuff and tobacco; one of stained leather; ten of mirrors; six of stockings; two of spun tobacco; one of weights and measures; four of soap; ten of coaches; four of wax candles; two of wax cloth; eleven of vinegar; one for shearing cloth; one of coarse cloth from wool tegs; one of wool cards; one for pottery; one of smoothing irons; five for refining sugar; eighteen for making watches. Of these manufactories, many are evidently but workshops of single tradesmen, who have taken out a license or permission to work at their trades; for at the end of the year 1836, the total number of manufactories in Sweden, which was 2049, employed only 14,223 workmen; which was less than 7 workmen for each factory. Admitting these

establishments to be all new, and not merely a succession of new masters to concerns formerly existing, it is but a sorry list of a whole year's industrial enterprise in a whole nation. The restrictive system is evidently incompatible with national wealth and industry, and with the progress or perfection of the useful arts, of those which add to the conveniences and comforts of civilised life. It gives, on the other hand, a certain amount of ease and comfort to the classes which enjoy its benefit — the middle and working classes — secures them from the pressure of unrestricted population upon the wages of labour, gives them a property in their acquired skill, which secures a subsistence, and undoubtedly keeps them in a happier and more equal, although lower condition than the same classes with us. It prevents the accumulation of a mass of population sunk in misery, such as we see in our manufacturing towns, even in times of general prosperity, from the numbers bred to particular employments exceeding the demands of society for their kind of work. It endeavours to hold a proportion between population and employment.

Between these two systems, the political philosopher may strike the balance, but it must be in some future age, when the results of the great experiment in society, which Britain is in the midst of, are more fully developed. The declaratory act of 1624, "by which," says Hume, "every subject of England was supposed to have entire power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow subjects; that no prero-

gative of the king, no power of any magistrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom;" and "condemning all monopolies as contrary to law and to the known liberties of the people," was the Magna Charta of British industry. The corporation system of common trades and traffic had probably never attained the same consistency and root in the English as it had in the continental arrangements of society. The want of walls round our towns, the great extension of their suburbs, and the free passage of man and goods over English ground, must have at all times rendered the claims of exclusive privileges within certain limits, by any corporate body, almost nugatory; and the class of burgesses of towns was not, as on the Continent, the counterpoise to the power of the nobility: it was the body of gentry or land proprietors. The principle, which was sown by this act in our social system, has only come into effective and vigorous action within the last hundred years or so. At the present day we have practically no restrictions on the free exercise of industry. Corporations are now, in general, mere benefit societies, of which the members may enjoy political or pecuniary advantages, but have no rights or privileges preventing others from exercising the same trades. The foreigner, the Swede, or German, may come over and exercise his trade, or employ his capital in any of our towns, more easily than he could in his native place. The only restrictions are those connected with the police or the taxation of the country. The trades

connected with medicine and law are, perhaps, the only exceptions to this unrestricted freedom of industry in Britain. They have contrived to fence themselves in from free competition by exclusive privileges, to be acquired by apprenticeships, examinations, and degrees, on the plea that life and property might be endangered if these callings were open to the ignorant and unqualified. But the spirit of the age seems averse in Britain even to these restrictions. The most important branch of medical trade (midwifery), which is peculiarly and strictly fenced in by law in all other countries, is open to all who choose to practise it. It is held, that the good sense of a people left to itself will only trust the best qualified, and is a sufficient protection against the pill of the quack doctor, or the trick of the pettifogger; and that in the principle of the preservative, by incorporations and privileges, a greater evil is involved than that which it would prevent. The first result of the great measure of 1624 has been to multiply exceedingly the numbers of those who live by their industry. It threw open a species of property for man to live by, and multiply upon. The defenders of our corn laws must, to be consistent, defend the restrictive system, the appropriation of all branches of industry by exclusively privileged persons, and must be ready to bring back our whole working and trading population to the condition they were in previous to 1624. Having allowed this population to multiply by the removal of all restraint upon the exercise of the branches of industry by

which they live, to allow them to purchase food where they can get it cheapest, with the produce of their industry, is a necessary consequence — a second step, which must follow the first. The high price of corn is no longer, in our social system, a check upon increase of population (which would be the best argument in favour of the corn laws), but is a check upon the subsistence of an already existing population, increasing from a cause not controlled by the dearness of food, that of the demand for the products of their industry by other nations. When this second inevitable step in the great social experiment, of which the act of 1624 was the first, has been taken, the advantages of Britain, in having all the raw materials on which industry works concentrated within herself, and all the natural powers of fire and water, together with capital and workmen, in superior supply, will probably extinguish the productive industry of all other nations by the greater cheapness of her products. The classes living by their industry will increase by this demand for it, still more rapidly than they have done during the last two centuries. But the question, in political philosophy, will still remain — Has this been a wise policy? — has it improved the moral and physical condition of society? It has called into existence a great mass of population to supply a demand which has its limits, although the whole inhabitants of the earth be the consumers. In all articles of human use, excepting perhaps food, there is a visible limit to demand and supply as soon as a stock is created. Demand

is then limited to supplying the tear and wear and yearly consumption of the stock. But to create this stock, millions of hands have been called into existence more than are required to keep it up. How are they to subsist? There is no changing from one branch of industry to another when all are full. This is no imaginary state of things: on a small scale, and in particular trades and localities, such a crisis occurs now in Britain; and the tendency undoubtedly is towards such a general development of productive industry, that in all, a stock will be produced, requiring less and less human labour to keep it equal to the demand. When this balance has been clearly struck between ultimate demand and population in the condition of society, the two systems will be in a position for fair comparison, and not sooner. These views evidently influence enlightened statesmen of the continental governments, who understand perfectly the principles and theory of our political economy, but hesitate about the practical wisdom of bringing into existence a population beyond that which the native soil can maintain, and of depending for the employment and subsistence of that mass of surplus population upon a demand from without for their manufactured productions, which England can annihilate at will by simply opening her ports for foreign grain.

June 20th.—There is considerable agitation in the public of Stockholm to-day. Considering that the Emperor of Russia made an unexpected visit to His Majesty a few days ago; that his heir, the

Crown Prince of Russia, is still here on a visit to the Royal family; and that Ole Bull is displaying his powers among a people enthusiastically addicted to music; I reckon it among the most striking signs of the times, among the strongest indications of the state of the public feeling in Sweden, that the case of Mr. Crusenstolpe, his trial and condemnation, engrosses all conversation. This Mr. Crusenstolpe is a writer of great liveliness and wit, who has the talent of presenting even old facts in new and striking lights. He has had access to persons, and it is said to papers, connected with those political changes and events which render the history of Sweden, since the assassination of Gustavus III., so remarkable. He has published sketches of the characters and events of the times, which were eagerly received by the nation. The *Fraværende* and the *Nærværende* are *brochures*, giving masterly delineations of the characters of statesmen, living and dead, who have figured in these remarkable scenes and intrigues; and besides their spirit and almost dramatic effect, they leave on the reader's mind a strong impression of their historical truth, and that the author knows much more than he ventures to tell, of the secret springs of the political events of recent Swedish history. An attempt to purchase his silence or his aid as a writer, by the government, and which he contrived to lead on adroitly to such a point that he got into his hands undeniable documents in writing of the attempt before he spurned at it, has given a great value to his information or opinions with the

public. Some military officer, a friend of this gentleman, had been unjustly passed over, notwithstanding seniority, and all other superior claims to those of the court favourite who was promoted over him. Mr. Crusenstolpe, in one of his political pamphlets, exposes the injustice and illegality of this proceeding. The promotion was dated upon a Sunday — a day on which, constitutionally, the council, or the king in council, could not transact such ordinary business; and Mr. Crusenstolpe states in his pamphlet, "that the council had violated the law of God, as well as worldly and constitutional law, by this act." On this expression he was indicted for high treason. His Majesty is a necessary constituent part of the council. To asperse the council is to asperse his Majesty: they are as sacred as majesty itself. It was a trial, in short, of the question, whether in Sweden the king's ministers are liable to censure for the acts of government, or are as irresponsible to public opinion as the King himself. A jury, said to be packed, brought him in guilty, and he was condemned to three years' imprisonment in a fortress. When we find the name of Berzelius on the list of the jury, it is impossible to believe that the jury was packed, or their verdict partial. The law itself may be bad, but we can scarcely believe the administration of it impure. The jury here, however, consists of nine persons, chosen out of thirteen, of whom the accused names four, the public accuser four, and the court five. The court and public prosecutor have, consequently, the naming of nine out of

thirteen jurymen, and the accused has only the challenge of two, in reducing the thirteen to nine. The Swedish jury appears defective also in this: the same jury acts as grand jury and petty jury, in offences of the public press; that is, two distinct questions are submitted to it, and the finding in the one necessarily involves the finding in the other. They have first to pronounce upon a distinct written accusation of the nature and tendency of the publication, whether it is a breach of the particular law on which the public accuser has laid his count; and when a majority of two thirds have thus found the relevancy of the accusation, there is no second jury and trial, as with us, to find the party guilty or not guilty, generally, according to the circumstances of the case. It is but one branch of jury trial, and that perhaps the least important, that the Swedes have adopted. The general impression that a gross injustice had been committed under the mask of legal forms, proves that these forms are notoriously faulty. A great assemblage of well dressed people of the middle class attended Mr. Crusenstolpe on his committal to the town-house, from whence he was to be transferred to the fortress to which he was condemned. The *vivat* of such a meeting to a man not generally esteemed, but suffering under what they considered an unjust government prosecution, speaks volumes on the state of public opinion in Sweden; for this is no rabble, but the most respectable of the middle class.

June 21. — There has been more agitation yes-

terday in Stockholm than I was aware of. The rabble have caught the spark of discontent which has been so manifest for some days among the middle class; and last night they assembled and broke the windows of the minister of justice, Mr. Neerman, obnoxious to the people on account of the prosecution of Mr. Crusenstolpe, and the supposed adviser and favourite of his Majesty. To-day the front of the palace is lined with troops; cannon are planted in the squares; cavalry posted in the open places; patroles moving through the streets; gun-boats coming up opposite the palace; and the French-like blue and red uniforms of the troops posted on the stairs and looking over the balustrades, recall strange ideas of past events, and are by far too Versailles-like. What can all this mean? — is there more than meets the eye known to government? — or is the government so unstable that the trifling rioting of a couple of hundred apprentice boys, which in any other city the ordinary town police would suppress, creates an excessive alarm? — or is it a *ruse* — an attempt of government itself to create an alarm, and excite sympathy and loyalty by this demonstration of a fear of danger? It must give the heir of the Russian empire, now on a visit to his Swedish Majesty, a singular idea of that power, greater in truth than the Russian, the power of the public press, which can oblige a popular monarch, in the midst of his capital, to set his army in activity and put his palace itself in a state of defence and siege, in consequence of the prosecution of a pamphleteer.

The whole appears to me a mere *ruse*, got up, or permitted by government for some purpose or other. Stockholm is a town in which tumults of any serious kind cannot take place without the connivance, or most gross negligence, of the police. The population is not large; is thinly scattered over a great area of long single streets, and is separated into small portions by the water, the town being built upon islands, so that no great assemblages of the mob can take place, if the police chooses to stop the passage of two or three bridges. It is not unknown in the modern history of this country, that such city tumults have been got up and connived at, for party purposes. On this very day twenty-eight years ago (June 20. 1810), Count Fersen was murdered by the mob in the streets of Stockholm; and an account of this transaction published last year by Baron Duben, a friend of the murdered nobleman, who was near his person the whole time, leaves no doubt that the mob were not the only parties involved in the guilt, but that it was a crime wilfully permitted, if not secretly instigated, by the government of that period. Facts of the dark reign of Charles XIII. are beginning to come to light. This Count Fersen and a Countess Piper were suspected by the populace of having poisoned Prince Carl August, of Augustenburg, on whom the succession to the Swedish crown on the demise of Charles XIII. had been settled by the king and the diet. This young prince, although of the Danish royal family, had made himself very popular in Sweden; and it was reported that he had

resolved, if the crown devolved to him by the death of Charles XIII., to restore it to the Vasa dynasty. He was a young man apparently of great promise, whose memory is still cherished. There seems to be no reason for supposing that he died by poison, or that this nobleman was capable of such a deed; but the report was industriously circulated among the people. Count Fersen, apparently in the consciousness of his innocence, attended the funeral. He was a man not popular at home, but esteemed in the foreign courts, where his representations and views of Swedish affairs would be listened to with respect, and have weight in the policy of other powers with regard to Sweden and her new dynasty; and he was a friend of the expelled family and of their cause. He was hustled and attacked by the mob during the funeral procession on the street. Baron Duben, who now publishes the account of the business, was with him, rescued him from their hands, and placed him close to the line of the Foot Guards drawn up on the street, three of whom stepped out of the ranks, presented their bayonets, and kept off the mob by the orders of two of their officers still alive, whose names Baron Duben gives in confirmation of his statements—Lieutenants de la Gardie and Koskull. The commanding officer of the Guards, General Silversparre, lately deceased, rode up, ordered the three soldiers to shoulder their arms and fall into the ranks, and allowed the mob to drag the unfortunate nobleman from the protection of the troops, and murder him at a short distance from

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the front of his line. On the inquisition of the civil authorities into the circumstances, this officer declined their jurisdiction, said he was answerable only to the king for what he did or did not do in his military command, and that he had made his report to his Majesty, who was satisfied with his conduct. There are mysterious and wild passages in modern Swedish history. The late king, Charles XIII., appears to have been a man totally devoid of principle; a Richard III., without the heroism of that usurper. Sweden has been a hot bed of intrigues since the assassination of Gustavus III. in 1792; and the success which has attended the most unprincipled, has destroyed the moral sense of the nation in political affairs.

A desperate war is carrying on in this country between the periodical press and government. By law and the constitution, the Swedish press is free; and every man is entitled to publish what he pleases, being responsible to law for what he publishes. But in 1812, a temporary power of suppressing periodical publications summarily, withou previous trial or accusation before a jury, as in the case of other publications, was granted to the executive by the diet. This power of immediate censorship over newspapers was applied for on the plea that the exigency of the times made it necessary to arm the executive with power to suppress seditious writings summarily, and without waiting for the previous condemnation by a jury of the publication and its author: and it was granted on the understanding that it was to be only tempo-

rary. The exigency, whatever it was, passed away; but not the power — and, in a constitution so complicated with its four chambers and absolute veto, it is impossible to carry through a bill for the abolition of this censorship in opposition to the royal will. The retention is loudly complained of as a breach of faith with the nation; and is useless as well as impolitic, for it extends practically only to annoying the daily press, and irritating the public mind, without the power of effectually stopping any obnoxious periodical paper. The ground law entitles every man who pleases to publish a newspaper; and the real editor of a popular newspaper keeps half a dozen fellows in pay, who are ready to give their names as editors, and stand all responsibility, for a few dollars. The suppressed paper appears within half an hour with a trifling alteration in the title. The Aftonblad (evening sheet) has been suppressed by government twenty-four times, and now appears under the title of the Twenty-fifth Aftonblad; and may to-morrow appear under the title of the Twenty-sixth, should government suppress the paper called the Twenty-fifth Aftonblad. The ground law secures too well the liberty of the press for this power of censorship to exist by the side of it; and government has the worst of it in the conflict. The want of sincerity in retaining a power granted temporarily, furnishes a theme of powerful moral effect against government, and the unnecessary exertion of the power, and frequently for passages which the jury has subsequently found innocent, keeps

the public mind in a perpetual state of ferment. A knot of old nobility, a century behind the age they live in, and unable to appreciate the importance of public opinion in these times, surround the King, and advise measures more suited to the court of France before the revolution, than to the nineteenth century. His Majesty himself, imperfectly educated for any civil command or business, and ignorant of the language, and consequently of the people and their concerns, is as far behind as his ministers in the knowledge required for governing with satisfaction a constitutionally regulated state. In the conflict with a periodical press conducted by men of great talent, and wielding an influence in this well-educated nation altogether overwhelming, an executive government so constituted, and exposed in every measure to its attacks, does not slumber on a bed of roses.

The number of newspapers published in Sweden is reckoned to exceed eighty, of which nineteen are published in the metropolis. A great number of these are not political, but merely give the advertisements of the neighbourhood. Where there are so many public functionaries in a country, that it may be truly said they are not made for the public business, but the business for them, there is a great superfluity of writings, announcements, official forms, and publications, in all concerns, public or private. Every province and town has its local courts, in which the system of much ado about nothing gives a living to a corps of officials; and the advertisements and proclamations connected with

the business of the courts, together with the ordinary notices of buyers and sellers in the district, support a newspaper in a much smaller population than with us. The stamp-duty on newspapers does not exceed $\frac{1}{8}$th of a farthing per sheet. There is no duty on advertisements; and the cost of advertising in the best newspapers in Stockholm is about $3\frac{1}{12}$ farthings, or two skillings banco, per line. Advertisements are consequently numerous, and the convenience of them extends to lower and smaller objects, and to lower classes of society than with us. We lose an immense advantage in our social condition, by taxing heavily the readiest means of communication between man and man in matters of purchase and sale. The paper used by the provincial press is very bad, but very cheap; and the matter is of the same character. If there is a spare column it is generally filled with a "continuation" of some insipid French tale. The daily political newspapers of the metropolis are of a higher class. The Aftonblad, the Dagblad, the Daglige Allehande, are the liberal daily papers. The Freya and many others are weekly papers, or published twice or three times a week, on the same side. The Stats Tidning, or Gazette, the Argus, and the Swenske Minerva, are the leading conservative papers, but the first only is in daily circulation. The Aftonblad takes the lead of the periodical press. Its circulation is above 4000, which, in proportion to the population of Sweden, is greater perhaps than the circulation of any newspaper in Europe. The price is ten dollars banco yearly,

about 15*s.* 5*d.* sterling, delivered from the office six days in the week. Mr. Fljerta, the proprietor and editor, does not publish it on Sundays, although not prevented by law, I believe, from Sunday publication. The postage within the kingdom of a daily paper is one dollar eight skillings, or about two shillings sterling, yearly; but this, I understand, is not secured, as in Norway, by an act or law, but is at the discretion of the executive; and government has been so ill advised as to withdraw this exemption from postage from the Aftonblad. This kind of personal conflict with the opposition press only adds to the celebrity and circulation of its productions; and where the post at the best is an affair of once a week, and steam-boats are running in all directions once a day, government has the mortification of adopting an unpopular measure, and of seeing it defeated and laughed at. In all the coffee-rooms, conditors' or confectioners' rooms, kallare or cellars, and such places of resort which I visited, the liberal papers, especially the Aftonblad, Daglige Allehande, and Freya, were never wanting. These are decidedly the newspapers of the middle and lower classes. The Gazette, or Stats-Tidning, is the only one of conservative principles to be found in any public place. The others on the same side of politics may have a very considerable circulation among the higher classes: and two of them, at least, the Minerva and Argus, are conducted with great talent; but they have no advertisements from the people, which is a proof that they are not the papers of the

people. Over all the Continent, or at least in this quarter, liberal, radical, conservative, aristocratic, are terms applied to classes of political opinions and to newspapers, as distinctly, and with the same meaning, as with us.

With regard to editorial talent, these Swedish newspapers on both sides appear to me not equal to the Norwegian. The political events of other countries are not so clearly and sharply brought out; nor do any of their leading articles, or editorial observations, show such extensive or correct knowledge of the history, statistics, literature, and laws of other countries, as those of the Morgenblad and Constitutionelle; but there is much more tact in selecting amusing matter, provincial news, new anecdote, and much more wit, lively writing, and grace of style. They are written for different kinds of readers — the Swedish, for a public, like our own newspaper readers, living in a metropolis, and with a taste refined and more cultivated than their judgment, and a craving for amusement; — the Norwegian, for circulation in the country among people of higher education, such as clergymen, and who require more solid matter. The perfect freedom of the press also in the one country, and the dangerous position of the editor in the other, with fines and imprisonment before his eyes for undefined transgressions, or for opinions uttered in perfect innocence of evil intention, make the exertion of talent and mental power very different, and by no means in proportion to the real abilities of the individuals writing under such different circumstances.

CHAPTER IV.

DEMORALISED STATE OF THE SWEDISH NATION. — AMOUNT OF CRIME IN SWEDEN YEARLY. — IN NORWAY. — IN DENMARK. — IN SCOTLAND. — IN ENGLAND AND WALES. — IN LONDON. — IN IRELAND. — AMOUNT OF ILLEGITIMATE COMPARED TO LEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN STOCKHOLM. — LOW MORAL FEELING. — STATE BROTHELS. — CAUSES OF DEMORALISATION. — CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY. — DISSOLUTE COURT. — POLITICAL PROFLIGACY. — THE REFORMATION. — DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATION OF LAW IN ENGLAND. — MANNERS. — DRUNKENNESS. — POSTING REGULATIONS. — SWEDISH MONEY. — PALACE OF HAGA. — LABOURERS. — DRESS. — DISEASES. — POVERTY.

It is a singular and embarrassing fact, that the Swedish nation, isolated from the mass of the European people, and almost entirely agricultural or pastoral, having in about 3,000,000 of individuals only 14,925 employed in manufactories, and these not congregated in one or two places, but scattered among 2037 factories; having no great standing army or navy; no extended commerce; no afflux of strangers; no considerable city but one; and having schools and universities in a fair proportion, and a powerful and complete church establishment undisturbed in its labours by sect or schism; is, notwithstanding, in a more demoralised state than any nation in Europe — more demoralised even than any equal portion of the dense manufacturing population of Great Britain. This is a very curious fact in moral statistics. It is so directly op-

posed to all received opinions and long established theories of the superior moral condition, greater innocence, purity of manners, and exemption from vice or crime of the pastoral and agricultural state of society compared to the commercial and manufacturing, that if it rested merely upon the traveller's own impressions, observations, or experiences, it would not be entitled to any credit. The traveller in a foreign country swims on the surface of society; in contact, perhaps, with its worthless scum, as well as with its cream, and is not justified in drawing sweeping conclusions upon the moral character and condition of a whole people from what he may meet with in his own little circle of observation. I would not venture to state this fact upon any grounds less conclusive than the following.

According to the official returns published in the Swedish State Gazette, in March, 1837, the number of persons prosecuted for criminal offences before all the Swedish courts in the year 1835 was 26,275, of whom 21,262 were convicted, 4915 acquitted, and 98 remained under examination. In 1835, the total population of Sweden was 2,983,144 individuals. In this year, therefore, 1 person of every 114 of the whole nation had been accused, and one in every 140 persons convicted, of some criminal offence. By the same official returns, it appears that in the five years from 1830 to 1834 inclusive, 1 person in every 49 of the inhabitants of the towns, and 1 in every 176 of the rural population, had, on an average, been punished each year for criminal offences. In 1836, the number

of persons tried for criminal offences in all the courts of the kingdom was 26,925, of whom 22,292 were condemned, 3688 acquitted, and 945 under trial or committal. The criminal lists of this year are stated to be unusually light, yet they give a result of 1 person in every 112⅕ of the whole population accused, and 1 in about every 134 convicted, of criminal offence; and taking the population of the towns, and the rural population separately, 1 person in every 46 individuals of the former, and 1 in every 174 individuals of the latter, have been convicted within the year 1836 for criminal offence. There is no rebellion in the land, nor resistance to obnoxious laws, as in Ireland to the tithe laws; nor are artificial offences created to any great extent by iniquitous legislation, as with us, by the game-laws and excise-laws. These are all offences involving moral delinquency greater than the simple breach of a regulation or conventional law of the state. Among the crimes in the rural population, there were 28 cases of murder, 10 of child murder, 4 of poisoning, 13 of bestiality, 9 of robbery with violence; — and this rural population is only 2,735,487 individuals; and, as appears by the official returns, the criminality among them is only in about the proportion of one fourth of that of the town population of Sweden. Now let us compare this with the state of criminal offence in other countries.

In Norway, in the same year, 1835, the total population being 1,194,610 individuals, the number of accused was 2616 persons, and of these 1439 for

police transgressions only. This is 1 person in every 457 of the whole population; and 1 in every 662 was convicted, but 1 only in every 1402 of criminal offence.

In Denmark, in 1835, the population being 1,223,807 individuals, 1806 were accused, that is, 1 person in every 678 of the population; and 1223, that is, 1 person in every 943, convicted of criminal offence.

In Scotland, in the year 1836, the total population being 2,365,114, the number accused or committed for trial was 2922 individuals, or 1 person in every 809 of the population, and the number convicted was 2152, or 1 in every 1099 of the population.

In England and Wales the population at the census of 1831 was 13,894,574 individuals, of whom, in the same year, 1831, there were accused, that is, committed for trial, 19,647, being 1 in every 707 persons of the whole population, and of these 13,830, being 1 in every 1005, were convicted of criminal offence. Thus in the nearly 14,000,000 of the population of England and Wales, there were 7278 fewer committals, and 8462 fewer convictions. in the year 1831, than in the scarcely 3,000,000 of the Swedish nation in the year 1836, stated to be a year considerably more free from crime than any of the five preceding it.

In London — in that sink of vice and depravity, as we consider it — the total population in April, 1835, was 1,918,640 individuals, and the number of committals for criminal offences in the preceding

year, 1834, was 3547 persons, or one in every 540 persons of the population; while in the rural population of Sweden 1 in every 174, and in the town population 1 in every 46 persons, were committed for criminal offence.

In Ireland the population in 1834 is stated in a parliamentary report at 7,943,940 individuals. The committals for criminal offences in that year were 21,381 or 1 person in every 371½ of the population, and the convictions were 14,253, or 1 person in every 557. In the five years from 1830 to 1834 inclusive, the average yearly number of committals in Ireland is 1 in every 455 persons, and of convictions 1 in every 723 of the whole population. The great difference between the numbers of committals and convictions in Ireland proves that the laws are badly administered — that many persons are wrongfully accused, or else wrongfully acquitted. In despite, however, of the demoralising effects of a mal-administration of law, and of religious and political discord and excitement to outrage, the Irish nation stands very far above the Swedish in the moral scale. In the nearly eight millions of the Irish there are 5644 fewer committals for criminal offences, and 8039 fewer convictions, within one year, than in the scarcely three millions of the Swedish nation. These are singular results, and very unexpected, when we consider the cuckoo-cry, repeated until nothing else can be heard, of the crime, vice, and social disorganisation of Ireland, which by common consent is placed at the very bottom of the list of civilised nations; while

Sweden is as generally held to be a country eminently moral. I can see no mistake in the results drawn from these official statements, although they overturn all my former notions of the comparative morality of different states of society, and of different nations. It appears an unavoidable inference from them, that the moral condition of Sweden is extremely low.

The proportion also of illegitimate to legitimate births in this country leads to the same conclusion. It is as 1 to $2\frac{3}{10}$ in Stockholm. In no other Christian community is there a state of female morals approaching to this. In Paris the illegitimate are reckoned by Puchet to be one in five births, and in the other towns of France 1 in $7\frac{1}{2}$. In England and Wales it is reckoned there is one illegitimate to nineteen legitimate, and in London and Middlesex one to thirty-eight legitimate births. Much weight cannot be given to the English returns as an index of the morality of the people, because the old poor-law held out in fact a premium to illicit intercourse among the lower classes, if it was followed by subsequent marriage, by the parish allowance for each child born in wedlock. But making all allowance for this, the difference of 1 in $2\frac{3}{10}$ and 1 in 38 is so enormous, and, considering the two towns, Stockholm and London, so unexpected, that it must excite the curiosity of the most careless traveller. I have been inquiring anxiously into the reality and the supposed causes of this extraordinary fact in moral statistics. Taking all Sweden,

the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births in the ten years from 1800 to 1810, was 1 in 16 births; from 1810 to 1820, 1 in 14; from 1820 to 1830, 1 in 14 $\frac{6}{10}$. In England and Wales it is but 1 in 19, which, considering the state of our population (much higher fed, yet more restrained from matrimony, by the expense of supporting families), is an extraordinary difference; but still it shows that the excess of immorality in Sweden must be reckoned against its town populations, especially that of Stockholm. If their proportions could be subtracted from the account, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births in the country would probably be the same nearly as in any other rural population. But why should this city of 80,000 people be so remarkably demoralised, in an age when all other European communities are undoubtedly advancing rapidly in an opposite direction? No man, who recollects the state of our manufacturing or sea-port towns of similar size twenty-five or thirty years ago, will hesitate in saying that moral and religious feeling has advanced prodigiously during that period among our lower classes. Figures do not bring home to our imaginations the moral condition of a population so depraved as that of Stockholm. In such a society, the offspring of secret adultery, and the births merely saved from illegitimacy by the tardy marriage of the parents, must be numerous in proportion to the general profligacy. If it were possible to deduct these from the one side of the account and add them to the other, to which morally they

belong, what a singular picture of depravity on a great scale this city presents. Suppose a traveller standing in the streets of Edinburgh, and able to say, from undeniable public returns, "one out of every three persons passing me is, on an average, the offspring of illicit intercourse; and one out of every forty-nine has been convicted within these twelve months of some criminal offence!" The remarkably low moral feeling in this community appears from the following fact. In all large cities, in the present age, houses of ill fame — brothels, where they do exist — are silently tolerated by the local authorities, as evils which the police must watch over, and which the growing sense of decency, of religion, of morality, among the lower classes, their better education, greater temperance, and higher civilisation, can alone remedy. But to openly establish such where they did not exist before, under authority of government, and as one of its public institutions, for the health or morals of the people; to hire an hotel for such a purpose in a principal street; collect unfortunate females to live in it, and give out a code of regulations for their conduct towards the public, — appears a trait rather from the history of the twelfth than of the nineteenth century. It is scarcely credible, yet this was done within these three years here; and the establishment was only abandoned because the wretched inmates fell victims to the barbarity of the regulations. It would be difficult to find perhaps in any town in Europe, at the present day, such another instance of low moral feeling in the

governing and governed. There are two minor causes, both however showing a degraded moral feeling, which were stated to me as contributing much to this lax state of female morals. One is, that no woman in the middle or higher ranks, or who can afford to do otherwise, ever nurses her own child. A girl who has got a child is therefore not in a worse but in a better situation, as she is pretty sure of getting a place for two years, which is the ordinary time of nursing. The illegitimacy of the child is in this community rather a recommendation of the mother, as the family is not troubled with the father or friends. As to the girl's own child, there is a foundling hospital—the second minor cause — in which it can be placed at a trifling expense for the time the mother is out nursing. The unchaste are, therefore, in fact, better off than the chaste of the female sex in this town.

What are the causes of this diseased moral condition of a nation cut off by nature from many contaminating influences to which others are exposed; such as commerce, wealth, wars, or redundant physical enjoyments from soil or climate? The traveller is but the pioneer to the historian and political philosopher, and he does wisely when he contents himself with merely collecting and authenticating materials for their reasonings. He falls into the stupid, when he philosophises and proses on his own account, and stops to talk wisdom on the highways. But some of the causes would only occur to a person in the country itself; and as they illustrate the actual state of the society and institutions

of Sweden, I shall risk being tiresome, and explain my views of them.

The main cause I conceive to be a radical defect in the construction of society in this country. The weight of public opinion upon the side of morality, and acting as a check upon private conduct, is lost in it by the too great proportion and preponderance in the social body of privileged classes — of persons, whose living, well-being, distinction, social influence, or other objects of human desire, are attained by other means than public estimation gained by moral worth. The privileged classes in this community are not merely the hereditary aristocracy, the military, and members of the learned professions; but the tailor, the shoemaker, the smith, the joiner, the merchant, the shopkeeper; in short, every man exercising any craft, trade, branch of industry, or means of living — that is to say, the whole of the upper and middle classes, down to the mere labourer in husbandry — belong to a privileged or licensed class or corporation, of which every member is by law entitled to be secured and protected within his own locality, from such competition or interference of others in the same calling as would injure his means of living. It is, consequently, not as with us, upon his industry, ability, character, and moral worth, that the employment and daily bread of the tradesman, and the social influence and consideration of the individual, in every rank, even the highest, almost entirely depends; it is here, in the middle and lower classes, upon corporate rights and privileges, or upon license obtained

from government; and in the higher, upon birth, and court or government favour. Public estimation, gained by character and conduct in the several relations of life, is not a necessary element in the social condition, even of the working tradesman. Like soldiers in a regiment, a great proportion of the people under this social system derive their estimation among others, and consequently their own self-esteem, not from their moral worth, but from their professional standing and importance. This evil is inherent in all privileged classes, but is concealed or compensated in the higher, the nobility, military, and clergy, by the sense of honour, of religion, and by education. In the middle and lower walks of life, those influences are weaker, while the temptations to immorality are stronger; and the placing a man's livelihood, prosperity, and social consideration in his station, upon other grounds than on his own industry and moral worth, is a demoralising evil in the very structure of Swedish society. It is observed by Miss Martineau or Mrs. Trollope, that in the United States of America—where all boast of being so free—every one is a slave to the dread of public opinion; and even the children calculate what people may think of their most indifferent and trifling actions. This is not to be laughed at. In a country in which every man can work out a living, and even wealth, whatever may be his moral worth, this excessive and morbid care about the public opinion of their conduct, is evidently a strong self-reared guard upon morals; one created, as it were, for the want which

there must be of a check upon conduct in the society of a settling country. It is the best trait in the American character.

. Akin to this cause is the injudicious meddling of government with its encouragements, rewards, and distinctions, in those matters which do not belong to the judgment of governments, but to the moral feelings, common sense, or private interests, of individuals. A bit of ribbon at the button-hole of a military man is in its proper place — it covers a scar, or may some day do so, and is a suitable reward for the kind of merit — a kind not rewarded by any natural feelings of approbation in the human breast arising from moral or religious sentiment. But when the same distinction is applied to successful industry, good conduct and character, in the ordinary employments of life, in which a man's true reward is his own approbation and the estimation of the society in which he moves, it lessens the value of that estimation, and makes it less restraining upon human conduct. In the moral conduct of the members of a community, the *vox populi* is truly the *vox Dei*: it appreciates rewards, or punishes unerringly, and the substitution of court distinctions, ribbons, and crosses, for it, in the affairs of society, is not a happy effort at good government in Sweden. The passion of the middle class of the Swedish people for these false social distinctions is quite extravagant, and to us, bred under different social arrangements, it is incomprehensible. It is at once the cause and the effect of their disregard for the real distinctions of

moral worth and conduct: and where the latter are shut out from their proper weight and importance in society, by a fictitious system of honours and privileges conferred by government, this extraordinary craving for paltry personal distinctions becomes naturally a principle of action in the middle classes, at the expense of moral principle. Those who can in no other way get at these personal distinctions, form themselves into orders, or clubs, with all sorts of medals, dresses, and such trifling decorations. Besides the hereditary distinctions of the nobility, of which there is a superabundant crop in Sweden, as every son, and not merely the eldest, succeeds to a title and privileges, as a nobleman; and besides the titles and distinctions attached to the offices of actual functionaries in civil or military service, there is a great class of personal distinctions totally unconnected with birth or function, bestowed by favour, and pervading with its influence the whole of the middle class of society. We have no idea in Britain of this kind of nobility, — the *burgerliche adel*, or plebeian nobility, as it is termed in Germany, where the same system flourishes with the same effects on the industry and morals of the people. With us a thriving tradesman, master manufacturer, or merchant, would think himself little honoured, and as little benefited, by the empty title of counsellor of war, counsellor of conference, counsellor of commerce, or any such idle distinction, to which not a shadow of duty or utility is attached; and a knighthood is accepted by men in ordinary civil station, generally with repugnance, with an awkward feeling of

its incongruity with our solid estimate of social distinction, and rather because, in some public situations, from custom, it cannot be declined, than because it is coveted. But in this country there are about seventeen different titles of personal distinction, besides those attached to noble birth or civil or military rank or office. Each has its place in the code and observances of etiquette; its degree of honour is defined, and claimed as strictly as if the bearers were so many dukes or peers at a coronation; but these titles, of which the highest in honour appears to be chamberlain and privy counsellor (nominal, not real), and the lowest, counsellor of conference or of war, are all equally empty and unconnected, even in idea, with corresponding office, duty, or congruity; for a counsellor of war has probably passed all his life as a prosperous dealer in herrings and tobacco, within his own shop. They are simply titles conferred lavishly on persons belonging to the middle classes, forming them into a kind of secondary temporary nobility, far more injurious to the moral interests of society than any hereditary aristocracy; because they give that social distinction, pre-eminence, and advantage to the bearers, which industry, integrity, ability, and moral worth, should alone be the means of attaining in their station in society. We have escaped this modern disease of society; and public estimation, founded on moral worth and industry, can alone confer any weight, honour, or advantage, on individuals in the ordinary stations of life in our social structure.

Another obvious cause of demoralisation in Sweden is the influence of the example of a dissolute court, amidst a poor and idle population. The diffusion of the spirit of the old French court, of the frivolity, gaiety, expense, gallantry, gaming, and extravagant importance attached to the cultivation of the fine above the useful arts, which characterised what was called the age of Louis XIV., was encouraged by the Swedish monarchs, particularly Gustavus III., although evidently unsuitable to the resources and to the natural character of the nation. The Swedes laboured to be lively, and attained the distinction of being called the French of the North. This spirit of imitation outdid what it copied in the worst points, and was not confined to the court circles or the higher classes; but as these became impoverished and reduced in means to the level of the middle class, it was carried downwards into those orders of the community in whom frivolity, gaming, profligacy, inordinate passion for amusement, false estimate of human action and character, are not to be called weaknesses or foibles only, but are vices interfering with moral duties. Time and common sense have sifted the dross from what was of value in the philosophy and literature of the age of Louis XIV.; but the moral taint of its manners remains still in many countries, and particularly in Sweden.

The political profligacy, also; the total want of principle in public affairs, which characterises so many of the highest class of the Swedes in the transactions of the last fifty years, must naturally

have worked downwards, and deteriorated the classes below. The assassination of Gustavus III. by a conspiracy, not of ignorant fanatics, but of men of the higher and educated class; the open delivery for a price, of the fortresses and troops in Finland to the enemy by their commanding officers—men of the highest class, who, without even a pretext of principle, sold their military trusts for dollars; the deposition, not only of the individual monarch, whom for seventeen years they had acknowledged, but of his dynasty, while with singular inconsistency they retained the dynasty in the person of the usurper, his uncle, Charles XIII., for money or for safety to themselves; the murder of Count Fersen, effected by the mob, but permitted, if not instigated, by men of high rank; the sale (for it was a sale) of the succession of the crown of their native race of kings to a foreigner, and the apathy and want of principle of the great majority of the higher class, in suffering these things to be done before their eyes by a band of political intriguers, of no property or real weight in the country; are events within this half century which cannot be matched from the history of the same class,—the noble, the educated, the influential class,—in any other country. It is not surprising that the moral character of this people should be the lowest in Europe, with its highest class so totally devoid of political principle, public spirit, or sense of right.

Another cause I conceive to be, that although Luther's reformation found the minds of men in

part of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, and Scotland, prepared for it, and demanding a form of christianity more intellectual, more addressed to the understanding, and less to the senses, than that of the Roman Catholic church, the public mind in Sweden was in no such advanced state. The change was the act of government, connected, apparently, with the policy of the new dynasty, and supported by an enlightened few, and by the inferior resident clergy — not averse to be relieved from celibacy and other restraints; but the public mind appears to have been in a state of apathy in that age on religious concerns. No sects, schisms, preachings, meetings, publications, indicate such a ferment in the public mind here at the time of the Reformation, as in England, Scotland, and other countries. The resident Catholic clergy became, with few exceptions, Lutheran, and a few ceremonies less, a little difference in church forms, were all the changes which the mass of the people saw; for the public mind was not advanced so far as to appreciate the difference of doctrine. Gustavus I. always denied that he had introduced a new doctrine, and at the beginning of John III.'s reign, says Geyer, the people did not know but that they were still Catholics, singing Swedish mass. The country is too extensive, and too thinly peopled, even at the present day, for the effective diffusion of religious knowledge, or the spread of zeal, by preachings or the press. As far as regards the influence of religion on morals and conduct in private life, I conceive the Reformation

has not worked beneficially in Sweden. It found the public mind dormant, and sensible to nothing in religion but the external observances of a ceremonial church, and was superinduced on it in that state, and in that state it remains. In no country are the exterior forms and decencies of public worship better attended to. The churches are substantial, and not merely well kept up, but even decorated inside and outside; and there is a kind of competition between parishes for erecting elegant structures for public worship. The clergy are fairly endowed, well lodged, and in general on good terms with their flocks; they are also well educated men, and form a body of great power in the state, the chamber of clergy being one of the constituent parts of the diet. Yet, with all these exterior signs of a religious state of the public mind, and with all the means of a powerful church establishment, unopposed by sect or schism, to make it religious, it is evident, from the official returns of crime, that in no Christian community has religion less influence on the state of public morals. The just inference is, that no spirit truly religious has ever been generally kindled in this country; that the Reformation, as far as regards the moral condition of the Swedish people, has done harm rather than good, for it has merely substituted one ceremonial church for another; and that which it supplanted, if considered apart from religious doctrine or sentiment, and merely as an establishment for the check of immorality in private conduct, by its observances and rules, was, of the two, the more

effective system of moral police over a rude and ignorant people. Rude and ignorant as the Irish Catholic population are, their priesthood keeps them free from such a list of heavy crimes as Lutheran Sweden presents from her rural population alone, in numbers little exceeding 2,735,000 souls. This is the list of their crimes in twelve-months, 1836 : —

1	case of incendiarism.....	1 person concerned.
28	cases of murder	30 persons concerned.
10	cases of child-murder ...	11 persons concerned.
4	cases of poisoning.....	8 persons concerned.
9	cases of violent robbery	14 persons concerned.
13	cases of bestiality	13 persons concerned.
1176	cases of theft	1271 persons concerned.
2080	cases of assault.	
7	cases of perjury.	

I omit the crimes which may be conventional or police transgressions ; such as 190 cases of cutting wood unlawfully, 32 of improper behaviour during divine service ; and only extract from the Gazette the number of those cases which are heavy crimes in all communities, and afford grounds for an estimate of the comparative moral condition of different countries. In 1835, capital punishment was inflicted on 16 individuals, and in 1836, on 21 ; and in 1835, the number condemned to chains for life was 574 ; in 1836, 592. In England, in 1835, the executions were 34, and in 1836, only 17 : the capital convictions in 1835 were 523, and in 1836, only 494.*

* At the close of 1836, the county jails in Sweden contained 13,209 prisoners, besides 284 children living with their parents

The number of convictions for the lighter crimes in different countries, gives no exact measure of their comparative moral condition; it gives but an approximation founded upon the only data which the nature of the inquiry affords; for much must depend upon the criminal code itself, which in some countries may treat as crimes what in others are considered as police transgressions only; and still more must depend upon the manner or principle of administering the criminal law. In Scotland, for instance, the administration of the law, the detecting, arresting, committing, and prosecuting criminal offenders, are duties performed by paid functionaries, the procurator fiscal, sheriff depute, and their officers, in each county. The consequence is, that the public at large, as there are official people paid to do these duties, are not at all embued with that sense of duty to others, so lively in England, which leads men to seek out, arrest, and bring to justice, offenders, even when not directly sufferers by the offence. The sufferer himself, unless he see a chance of compensation or recovery of his loss, will scarcely be at the trouble

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in jail. Of the prisoners 547 were debtors; and the total number exceeds, by 778, the number at the close of the preceding year. Great Britain and Ireland, with their 27 millions, would, in the same ratio, have 118,000 of their population in jail; that is, more than the peace establishment of our army and navy would be criminals and debtors, under confinement. In 1836, the number of convicts under punishment in the Houses of Correction, in Sweden, was 3240.

of travelling to the county town or place of business of the paid functionaries, who cannot be so numerous as to be found in every neighbourhood, to lodge informations which may produce to him considerable trouble and loss of time; and that merely to discharge a public duty, which there are functionaries paid to do. There is among the Scottish people, accordingly, an apathy about the duty of apprehending ordinary delinquents, and even a kind of feeling in favour of the offender and of his escape from justice. This tendency of the multitude, and even of those above the vulgar, is complained of by all the functionaries who have to administer criminal law in Scotland. The small amount, therefore, of criminal committals among the Scotch population may prove not so much the absence of crime, as the absence of that sense of duty to society which induces men to denounce, detect, and arrest crime. In Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the same principle of administering the law prevails as in Scotland, and with the same effect on the spirit of the people. In England it is left very much to the public themselves to detect and bring to justice offenders. It is a duty forced upon every man, as from the dense population and great diffusion and exposure of personal property, society could not exist, if stipendiary functionaries, however numerous, were alone charged with it, and the public looked on with apathy, as in Scotland. It is exactly the want of paid functionaries to do the duty, which keeps alive in England that strong sense of duty to society in bringing to justice

offenders, which is far more effective, both in deterring and detecting, than any body of paid functionaries, however numerous and watchful. The criminal lists of a country under this administration of law may exhibit a much greater number of offences, especially of the minor depredations upon property, which every man feels a personal interest in checking, than those of countries in which the people have nothing to do with the execution of the law.

Which principle, for the administration of the criminal law of a country, is the best — that by which it is left very much to the people themselves, and to that sense of duty to society which is thereby nourished — as in England with its unpaid magistracy and its private prosecutors of offences; or that by which it is in the hands of a body of paid functionaries spread over the country for the performance of that duty — as in Scotland and all the feudally constituted countries of the Continent? The question has never been dispassionately examined. It is taken up as a party question in the present times, and, singularly enough, each party espouses that side of the question which is in direct opposition to their own principles. The high Tory advocates the ancient system of the administration of the criminal law in England. This system is, in fact, democratical in the highest degree. It leaves the penal law in the last resort to the judgment and good sense of the people themselves. If any law be unjust, oppressive, inhuman — as, for instance, the laws inflicting death for sheep-stealing,

stealing in bleach-fields, or forgery — it becomes non-effective, is, in fact, practically abrogated by the people, because prosecutors will not come forward upon a law which shocks humanity and good sense by its disproportionate punishment. Parliaments may enact, and judges expound, but practically there is an ultimate appeal to the public, whether a law be necessary in all its severity; whether the crime disturbs their well-being so much, that the law should be made fully effective. Public opinion regulates the execution of the law according to the wants of society for protection against the offence. It is surprising, that this important practical element in the social structure of England is so little taken notice of by writers on her legislative system. It is the most important feature in it, that bad or unnecessary legislation, laws not generally required, but adapted only for local or partial evils, may be, and practically are, corrected, or even nullified, by the sense of the country, in a silent unseen way. Yet our Radicals, on the other hand, call for the abolition of the system of an unpaid magistracy, and of private prosecutors, and for the establishment of stipendiary magistrates, official prosecutors, peace officers, and, as a necessary consequence, paid informers — leaving the people nothing to do with the laws but to obey them; no means of rendering obnoxious or unnecessarily severe laws ineffective, or of correcting wrong, unsuitable, or excessive enactments of the legislative body, but by agitation or open resistance. They call for the abolition of that ultimate appeal

to the people themselves, whether the enforcement of a law be necessary, and its inflictions proportionate to the evil which society suffers from the offence, which is the great safeguard in England against faulty and oppressive legislation; and they require the establishment of that machinery of a standing army of civil functionaries subservient to the crown, to administer law, which has been, in every age and country, the most effective support of arbitrary government. These are the inconsistencies of party spirit.

The great practical difference in the dispensation of law in England, and on the Continent, is the superior despatch of criminal cases, from the people being the prosecutors themselves, instead of paid functionaries. Doubtful cases are not, perhaps, brought forward so readily by the private prosecutor as they would be by the practised lawyer, who has his own skill and ingenuity to display at the bar, as well as to satisfy the end of law by the discovery of guilt. Many more guilty may escape, but the still greater evil of the law's delay in criminal cases is prevented. The English criminal law is often talked of by foreign jurists as hasty in its conclusions; I met the other day in a newspaper, the following instance of the deliberative mercy of the criminal law on the Continent. In 1830, a retired nobleman of the Danish court, the Chamberlain Von Qual, dwelling in Eutin, a town between Holstein and Lubeck, was found murdered at his own door. His two servants, the gardener and coachman, were sus-

pected of the crime and arrested. With us, no process would be more simple than bringing these men to trial at the next sessions, and acquitting or condemning them on the evidence produced. Here, in no obscure corner of Germany, but in the centre of its civilisation, after an imprisonment of six years and three hundred and twenty-five days in fetters, the writings in the case forming twenty-five folio volumes, the men were found innocent of the crime imputed to them. The one however, not being able to prove the utter impossibility of his being guilty, is guilty of being suspected; and is left to pay his share of the expense of the proceedings —which is equivalent to sentencing him to imprisonment for life for the debt, as lawyers do not write folio volumes for nothing.* The other is declared so entirely free even from the possibility of guilt, that government bears his share of the expense. In this case, a curious specimen of the German mode of bringing out the guilt of an

* In criminal procedure, the public prosecutor, or *Actor*, is appointed by the Court for each case, from among the advocates at its bar in rotation: and his expenses, which are awarded by the Court, and generally amount in the simplest cases to ten dollars, fall upon the accused party; unless, from very special circumstances, the Court order the expense to be paid by government. If the party have no property, government pays the advocate, and takes repayment out of the day-labour of the accused, who is detained with the convicts; and receives credit for the value of his work, after deducting his subsistence. A criminal who has served out his term of punishment, or a person acquitted altogether, may still be working as a convict for the expenses of his prosecution.

accused party is given in the 12th number of the Itzehoe Wochenblad. One of the prisoners is brought, after long solitary confinement in irons, before the public functionary, who has the duty of prosecuting criminals, who says, "There thou art with those huge fists which murdered this nobleman; thy comrade, Willer, has now confessed all. If thou dost not confess too, thou shalt be," &c. &c. This is the natural tendency and spirit of the administration of law by public functionaries, who have to show their own talents in the trade of discovering, and investigating crime.

June. — Whatever may be the want of morals in this country, there is no want of manners. You see no blackguardism, no brutality, no revolting behaviour. You may travel through the country, and come to the conclusion that the people are among the most virtuous in Europe, and it is only when you examine the official records of their criminal courts, and compare these with the amount of similar crimes during the same period in other countries, that you are obliged to come reluctantly to another conclusion. In Stockholm the extraordinary proportion of illegitimate births places beyond all question the want of chastity in its female population; yet in walking through the streets I never see an immodest or even suspicious look or gesture among even the lowest class of people. For propriety of dress and demeanour the town might be peopled by vestals, yet one third of the infants are bastards. I confess I do not like this either in a people or in an individual. I prefer a little open

Irish blackguardism. The man is much nearer to virtue who appears worse than he is, than the man who appears better.

June. — I have conversed with several enlightened Swedish gentlemen upon this extraordinary comparative state of the criminal calendar of the country. They all ascribe this apparent excess of crime entirely to faulty legislative or judicial arrangement, by which mere police transgressions (such, for instance, as the peasantry of a whole parish neglecting to mend their roads, or to appear with their horses in due time at the posting stations to forward travellers,) may be punished with fine, or even imprisonment on bread and water, and these cases are registered and accounted as crimes. In towns, in like manner, the neglect of sweeping chimneys, mending and cleaning streets, and so on, being punished by fines, and, if these are not paid, by imprisonment, the apparent catalogue of crimes they say is enlarged to what I state it to be; but that in reality the moral delinquency in Sweden is small. I got the perusal, however, of a copy of the report of the minister of justice to His Majesty, of the crimes committed in the kingdom in the year 1837. This annual report divides the crimes, for the first time I believe, into three distinct classes. The first and second classes comprehend the crimes against person or property, which are punished in all civilised communities. The third contains the offences against conventional laws, such as smuggling, or neglect of police regulations, in which fines or imprisonment are im-

posed, but without moral guilt on the part of the offender. In this class, however, are included three rubrics which clearly belong to the second class, viz. fornication, assault and battery, and excessive drunkenness, which in all societies come, more or less, under penal law. Now, taking these two classes with the three rubrics which include none but moral offences, what results have we? Of the country population of 2,735,487 individuals, 1 in 460 has been punished in 1837 for criminal offence. Among these offences, as before stated, are 28 cases of murder, 10 of child murder, 13 of a horrible offence, and 4 of poisoning. Of the town population of 289,280 individuals in 84 towns, 1 in 78 has been condemned for criminal offence in 1837. This result is after throwing out altogether every offence not of a positively immoral nature, and all petty offences summarily punished by fines. The best informed individuals impute this extraordinary state of the criminal returns of the country to the excessive drunkenness of the lower class. This evil, they say, goes beyond the excess of all other nations, is the cause of three fourths of all the crimes committed, and is destroying the very race, physically as well as morally. I take these opinions *cum grano salis.* The educated Swedish gentleman appears to me so far removed by station and conventional distinction from the man of the lower class, that the condition of the latter is scarcely better known to him than to a foreigner. There is no middle class uniting, as in England, the two extremes, and in

communication with both, because each class, even the clerical, is a privileged body independent of the rest of society. They are masses which the geologist would describe as in juxtaposition, rather than leaning on, or passing into and mixing with each other. The Swedish educated class appears also very susceptible of the fashionable opinions of the day in the rest of Europe; and fond of applying them to Sweden as a part of Europe, without consideration of social or physical differences. There is a fashion of the day, we all know, in general opinions as in clothes. The ignorance and inebriety of the lower classes are the two topics which in other countries engage at this day the attention of all enlightened people. The Swedish gentry adopt the fashionable subjects — without considering that infant schools and temperance societies, however useful in a dense manufacturing population like that of Britain, are inapplicable in a thinly peopled country, in which infants would have to be carried a day's journey to make up a number for a school; and people could not meet to be sober, without a vexatious loss of time, and a fatigue which would almost excuse their getting drunk. I venture to place to this account a good deal of the attributed drunkenness of the Swedish people, and believe them to be in this respect not worse than their neighbours. I travelled slowly across the country, stopping every eight or ten miles at the houses at which the people are supplied with spirits. At one place only in my whole journey, I saw a party of peasants rather tipsy,

but by no means drunk when they separated. I was some time at Westeraas, and have been some time here, and am not nice in my perambulations, but dive into all the dirty lanes of a town, and I have not seen a dozen people in liquor; and not one of the soldiery, who are generally the class most addicted to drinking. But it would be ridiculous to place the personal observations of a traveller in opposition to the deliberate opinions of gentlemen of the country. Drunkenness must be the prevailing vice, and the cause of the demoralised state of the Swedish nation; yet statistical facts do not bear out this opinion. In 1786 the yearly consumption of brandy is stated in the proceedings of the Diet at 5,400,000 kans. The population of Finland was included in this estimate. In 1829, the consumption is estimated by a committee of the Diet to be 22 millions of kans in Sweden, without Finland. The exact quantity cannot be known, as government levies a duty upon the stills only, which are said to be 150,000 in number, not upon the spirits. These are formidable numbers; but let us sift them. The Swede habitually takes three drams a day, one before each meal. This is most destructive to his health, undermines his constitution, and ruins at an early age his digestive powers; but this is not the drunkenness which destroys reason for the moment, and produces criminal acts. The whole male population of Sweden above 15 years of age is 856,611 persons, who, at 3 glasses daily, will consume in a year 13,027,625 imperial gallons, allowing 72 drams or glasses to

the gallon. The English gallon is equal to 1·736 kans, so that the whole 22 millions of kans falls short of the ordinary habitual consumption of the adult males by 615,957 kans. Taking the whole population of 1830, when 22 millions of kans were reckoned their total consumption of spirits yearly, it is less than eight gallons per head of the whole population — that of Scotland is said to be above nineteen pints per head of the whole population. It appears from this view, that drunkenness, however prevalent, is confined to particular classes, and that if some have a great deal too much, others have not even the quantity habitually used in this country by those who are considered temperate. The class which has too much is undoubtedly the young lads of the peasantry; but this evil proceeds from a cause different from the amount of distillation. Every farm over the whole country has by law to send one or more horses and a lad to the post-house, which is the public-house for the district, there to await the call of travellers. These are called the *hall hester*, and the tour of duty goes as regularly round as in a cavalry regiment. These men and horses must be on the spot; and if they are all out with travellers, there is a division of reserve horses to be called upon, but which are permitted to remain at home until sent for. This slavish institution, by which the peasant is obliged to give the use of his property against his will, not merely to the service of the state, but to every man who chooses to travel on his private business or pleasure, and

for a very inadequate compensation, (sixteen skillings banco for a Swedish mile, or less than one penny sterling per English mile,) can scarcely be done away with, because all the communications and business of the nation are now settled on this basis; and no establishment of coaches or post-horses could carry travellers so cheaply as the peasant, who is obliged to do it for next to nothing. It is ruinous however to the habits and morals of the people, and to the husbandry of the country. It is ridiculous, in fact, to talk of agricultural improvements in a country where the farmer's working-stock is not his own, but man, horse, and cart are taken from him at his most pressing season, per haps, for labour, as a matter of right, and his servants corrupted by lounging away all day in a public-house waiting for travellers, and drinking the money given them for their trouble. It is this tour of duty at the Skydts station, which all the young lads must take, that demoralises this class, gives them habits of drinking and idleness, and destroys that sense of the sacredness of property which is the strongest support good laws and government can give to morality. The property of other people cannot be very highly respected by those who see their own rights of property violated for the convenience of others, and their time, labour, and horses taken from them for an arbitrary and inadequate compensation. This I conceive to be one great cause of the present demoralised state of the Swedish people, and of that excessive drunkenness of the peasantry which I cannot doubt, as all

whom I have conversed with concur in considering it to be the great cause of the extraordinary state of the criminal calendar, although from personal observation, or from statistical facts, I cannot see it confirmed as a general vice. The females are not, even in the lowest class, addicted in the slightest degree to the use of spirits. On this point all I have conversed with concur; yet of all the criminals in Sweden, in 1836, the females, the undoubtedly sober part of the community, are in the proportion of about one in three. Inebriety, therefore, cannot be the sole cause of the amount of crime in Sweden exceeding that of Ireland with more than double the population. Norway, where wages are higher, and spirits cheaper, shows no such amount of crime, although inebriety must be at least as prevalent. In my conversations on this curious subject with different individuals, I am often met with the observation, in which all travellers in Sweden have concurred — the honesty of the common people is so great, that your luggage may be sent open from one end of the kingdom to the other with perfect security, although not accompanied by any one in charge of it, and although at every seven or eight miles it comes into the hands of a different peasant, or post driver. It is unheard of that such property is ever stolen, or that travellers are ever robbed on the road; and as this remarkable safety of person and property is not the effect of any superior system of police, it must be ascribed to the morality and honesty of the people. I agree perfectly in the fact, but not in the conclusion. In a

community without receivers there would be few thieves. What temptation can the peasant have to steal, rob, or murder, in order to obtain articles of dress which he could not wear without being instantly detected, nor sell without being suspected, from having in his possession articles not belonging to his station? He could not even change a ten-dollar note, without exciting curiosity and suspicion in a society in which there is no middle class with all its ramifications, spreading gains around among the lower; but only an upper and a lower class, with a few privileged persons as merchants or manufacturers between. Where there is temptation, that is to say, articles to be stolen with a reasonable prospect of non-detection, what says the criminal calendar of the country? It speaks facts, the traveller only speaks opinions. In 1836, it appears that one person in every 2360 of the rural population, and one in every 314 of the town population, had been condemned for theft. On an average of five years — 1830 to 1834 — the number of cases of theft has been 2256 each year; or one case for every 1178 persons of the whole population in town and country. This seems no very remarkable quantity of honesty; but be it comparatively much or little, it settles the question more satisfactorily than the safe arrival of a traveller's portmanteau with his shirts and waistcoats.

The money of this country puzzles the stranger at first, there being two kinds of paper issued by government, but the one at a discount of one third, as compared to the other of the same denomination

and original value. They are both dollars, and divided into the same parts, but the one piece of paper represents a dollar banco, viz. it is an obligation of the bank of the state to pay it in silver in the proportion of $2\frac{2}{3}$ of those notes for one dollar in silver, for which it was originally issued. The other is a dollar of the public debt, riksgäld, and is only a scrip or receipt to the holder for so much of it. As no tax or fund was appropriated for paying off this debt, and it bore no interest, these notes circulated as money for what they would bring. They had passed out of the hands of the original holders who had given the state full value for them, so that the actual holders having given no more than two thirds of a dollar banco, which had long been their fixed rate in the currency of the country, were considered as entitled to get no more for them from the state; and at that rate their value was fixed by law, and is now in course of being paid. I suspect that if our government had applied the same reasoning to the holders of our stocks, or public debt, who bought in at a low rate, and would only pay them the actual value they had given for their portions of the debt, it would have been called a national bankruptcy. The only difference is, that here the portions of the public debt were smaller, and in a shape to circulate as the common currency of the country, so that the loss was divided over all. The public was both the debtor and the creditor; and no particular class, excepting creditors of old standing, suffered more than another. The value of the piece of paper represent-

ing a dollar of the public debt was fixed at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the value of the piece of paper called a dollar banco, representing silver in the proportion of $2\frac{2}{3}$ of the paper banco dollar for a silver dollar. This was fixed by law in 1809 by the states; and in 1834 the office of the public debt began to exchange these notes or obligations for silver, at the rate of 128 skillings, or four dollars of the debt, for one dollar of silver. The Swedes boast of having no national debt; but no government and no individual would have debt upon the same way of dealing with it. Compare the Swedish money with a fixed standard — metallic money, or the rix dollar of the Hamburgh bank — and you find that in 1796 from forty-seven to forty-nine skillings in Swedish money, paid in Swedish silver dollars, would buy a Hamburgh bank dollar — the par is $47\frac{5}{12}$. Look to 1831, and from 136 to 144 Swedish skillings, paid in paper, go to a Hamburgh bank dollar, and at present 128 to 144 skillings Swedish banco, will only buy one dollar of that standard which forty-seven skillings could buy in 1796. The country is so much accustomed to a paper currency, that coin, except copper, is rarely seen, and the transactions with other countries being comparatively few, and the value of what they buy abroad about balanced by what they sell abroad, the currency in fact might be in cowries, or any other symbol of value, whether acknowledged in other countries or not. The paper dollars are very ingeniously divided. There are eight skilling, twelve skilling, and sixteen skilling notes, which are all equal parts

of the forty-eight skillings, into which the banco dollar is divided, and of the thirty-two skillings banco, which is the value of the public debt dollar, so that payments of small sums are made readily, whatever denomination of currency is used. The peasantry seem to adhere to reckoning by the riksgäld dollar, but all accounts and mercantile transactions are in banco dollars. The issue of notes for the higher sums is also very ingenious. There are 2 dollars banco notes, 10 dollars banco notes, $6\frac{2}{3}$ dollar banco notes, $16\frac{2}{3}$ dollar banco notes, so that payments of even decimal sums in either currency are readily made with three, or six, or twelve, or other duodecimal numbers of those notes. The stranger is liable to be imposed upon by paying in banco instead of riksgäld paper; and the seller quietly taking his payment in a money one third more valuable than he asked. This happened to me, however, only once or twice, which, considering the temptation and opportunity, says more, I think, for the honesty of the common people, than if my portmanteau had come safely from Tornea to Gottenburg. Besides the paper notes issued by the state, there have sprung up, within this year or two, about eight different private banking companies, issuing notes in different provinces, which promise to pay on demand, not in silver, but in banco, which is itself but a representative of a fixed standard. This will counteract the benefit which might have arisen from paying off the riksgäld notes, as these provincial notes must come to circulate at a discount, having no reference to silver, but being only

the representatives of the representative of silver. The unthriving appearance of the houses and other fixed property of the agricultural class, the air of desolation about them, compared to the dwellings of the small proprietors in Norway, and the want of means to employ their labourers at the same rate of wages as in the poorer country, may, I conceive, be accounted for by the loss of value of their property and produce, from the depreciation of the currency. They paid a dollar, and have been repaid only one-fourth of a dollar, and without interest. The Norwegians had also a forced loan to establish their bank, and pay off their debt; but they kept faith with the holders of the notes, receipts, or actions, of the sums thus raised. These changed hands, and at first to a great loss to the holders whose necessities obliged them to sell their stock; but faith was kept with the holders of the obligations, whether they were the original lenders or not; and although one individual might lose and another gain, there was no loss to the community, no annihilation of the property itself; interest was paid, and the obligations are at, or even above, par. The lender or holder gets back the amount lent, and interest; and the operation, however oppressive at the time, and ruinous to individuals, is not a destruction of property. Sweden is suffering the penalty of a breach of faith in the money-market, but unfortunately *plectuntur Achivi.*

June. — I went one Sunday to Haga, a royal palace about a couple of miles from the town, which is much frequented at this season by the

middle and lower classes. It is a palace by courtesy only, being nothing more than a handsome villa in the middle of what is called, on the Continent, an English park, with gravel walks, bridges, temples, and all such park furniture. It is open to the public. There was a printed notice at the gate not to pull the flowers, walk on the grass borders, and such regulations; and although there was not a policeman or keeper to be seen, I did not observe a single transgression or instance of wanton mischief. The common people were in family parties, each with a basket of provisions, enjoying a midsummer dinner in the open air. Every shady pretty spot was occupied. The old people were lying on the grass, the children romping and gamboling about, and during the whole day I did not see a single instance of intoxication. Midsummer is made much more of a holiday-time than with us. Boat-loads of green branches are brought to the market, which are bought and stuck up in corners, and about the out-houses. In the country, bonfires are universal on Midsummer-eve. It is, in short, a great festival for children. I used at first to be much puzzled in Norway about Saint Ann's day, for that was the day and term at which good weather, strawberries, fishing, and all good things were to come. I found at last Saint Ann's day meant Saint Han's day, the contraction for Johannes; in short, Saint John's day, or John's mass, as we call it in the north of Scotland, where it is likewise celebrated with bonfires.

There is a simplicity of taste, and an innocence

and openness about these people, even here in Stockholm, which seem quite inconsistent with that moral degradation and vice which exist beyond all doubt; for the statistical facts, the official returns to government of the crimes brought before the courts each year, are testimony beyond all personal observation, or any other kind of human testimony. It is impossible to reconcile the appearances with the facts, without supposing that there is in Sweden, and here in Stockholm, a great mass, a great majority, to judge from appearances, as uncorrupted, as simple in their habits, tastes, and mode of living, as any population in Europe; and a great class in all ranks, but especially in Stockholm, and the towns, far more depraved and vicious than in any other society; and that the crimes of the latter swell the general average of criminality of the whole nation so far beyond that of all other countries. But who, and where, is this class; and how has it come into such a disproportionate excess to the rest of the community? And is not the same observation applicable to all communities — to Ireland, for instance, which, although turbulent and addicted to brawls, is, compared to Sweden, a pure and virtuous country? Vice and demoralisation can only be predicated of classes and parts, not of a whole society. Human nature is all too good for a general depravity in any country. We gain nothing by this view; except fixing with more precision where the evil sits which taints the mass.

The lower class of labourers about the town

appear to be peasants from different districts, who retain the costumes of their own provinces. Some of these are picturesque, and no doubt very ancient. You see men and women in scarlet stockings, or rather hose of cloth, and mounted on shoes which have high heels placed forwards under the middle of the foot; some with leather jerkins, many with white woollen shapeless coats. It shows a small advance of a country in the tastes and habits which produce industry and civilisation, when the people still retain the dress of three centuries back. Women are employed here in work not usually done by females with us; such as sifting lime, carrying sacks of coal, rowing boats across the ferries, and drawing carts. A couple of women working hard at the oars, and half a dozen young fellows sitting idle in the boat, would be an uncommon sight with us. Among the very lowest class of the beggars in the town, there appears to be a great number affected with a peculiar disease, which I take to be the leprosy of the middle ages. The countenance and flesh appear of the dead colour which dropsy assumes: it is not syphilis, and is not communicable, it is said, in the same way; nor does it appear to be the disease called sibbens or yaws in some of the Hebrides, which is understood to show itself in scrofulous ulcers in the extremities. That is the last stage of this disease; which seems to run its course for years in the system, inflating and discolouring the body, before it breaks the skin: it is hereditary, and even children are affected with it. In Norway it is

known by the name of *radesyge;* and in some provinces there, and here, it is so prevalent that separate hospitals are kept up for the reception of such patients. There is a separate hospital here for syphilis, which must be dreadfully prevalent, there being in one year 553 patients taken in out of the town-population.*

The condition and number of the poor in this country are of great interest to the traveller, as his information may be grounded on more satisfactory data than personal inquiry into isolated facts. There are official statistical returns published by government periodically, and once in five years each governor of the provinces is required to give in an official report of the economical state of his government, and his own views of the condition of the people, and the improvements he considers suitable or practicable. No country is so rich in statistical facts as Sweden. When we compare the state of the poor, however, in two countries, even in England and Scotland, we must recollect the great difference in the standard of living — poverty in the one country would be luxury in the other. A gentleman, of great statistical information, whose acquaintance I

* In 1832 this hospital received 701 patients; 553 from the town, and 148 from the country. The unmarried of both sexes above 15 years of age in the town was 33,581; consequently 1 in every $60\frac{1}{10}$ of the unmarried adults had been in hospital in the course of 1832 for the treatment of venereal disease. Assuming the infant and the married population to have contributed to the number of patients, we improve this average medically, but not morally.

had the pleasure of making a few days ago, made the striking observation in our conversation on this subject, that the convict and the pauper in England live better than half of all the Swedish nation. Our standard of living is higher. What is really poverty and punishment in England, because it is privation of what is held to be necessaries of life, is not so where the ideas and usages of living never reached to such necessaries. Poverty may consequently be the effect of a generally improving condition of the nation which many cannot reach, and therefore are poor; as well as of a generally deteriorating condition. Between what is poverty in England, and absolute destitution, there are many steps. Poverty here, in Sweden, means absolute destitution of food, fuel, clothing, or means to procure them for the sustenance of life on the very rudest material. How cheaply it is possible to sustain life — relatively to our money prices of our material of food — is seen from the expense of the food for one day of each of the convicts in the two houses of correction in Stockholm. In the one, the daily portion of food for a prisoner costs 5 skillings $5\frac{1}{7}$ runsticks; in the other house 5 skillings $7\frac{1}{2}$ runsticks; that is, in sterling, at the course of exchange of 12 rix dollars, 20 skillings to the pound — $8\frac{7}{10}$ farthings in the one, and in the other $9\frac{3}{10}$ farthings. For this expense * the daily food of a man working hard as a prisoner — and

* The total cost, including clothing, superintendance, and all necessaries for each convict, is reckoned at twelve skillings per head daily.

without extraordinary mortality among the prisoners, therefore, it is to be presumed, wholesomely although coarsely and cheaply fed — is provided. This shows the very low minimum upon which life may be sustained relatively to our money-prices of the materials of living; but of course the economy of a body of men living under coercion, and provided in the cheapest wholesale way, is no rule by which to judge of the expense of living to the poor. Their rate of wages, and the rate of the provisions they use, are to be considered in their condition. Where these are both very low — the price of provisions and wages — and the standard of living so low that it reaches only to subsistence, there is no room in bad seasons for the poor to fall back, nothing to retrench — without utter destitution. This is a bad condition, and, in consequence of a succession of unfavourable crops, it is the present condition of the people here. Their poverty is increasing, not from the standard of living rising generally, and requiring more; but from earnings and employment becoming less in proportion to the cost of a bare subsistence. In 1737, the number of poor in Stockholm was 930 persons, costing in support 9000 rix dollars, or 727*l.* 5*s.*: in 1830, according to the official returns, there were in Stockholm 6448 poor families, and 1651 destitute families. The poor are there reckoned to be in the proportion of one poor family to $2\frac{5}{10}$ families not poor; and the amount of pensions, gifts, poor-rates, poor-houses, almshouses, and foundling hospitals' funds, is calculated to be 500,000 dollars, or 40,269*l.* sterling. But it

is probable that, in this official report, there has been some mistake, arising from not defining previously what was to be called poor. In 1829, the actual number supported by the poor-house was 1106 in, and 474 out, in all 1580 persons, or one in 51 of the whole population of the town: and in all Sweden, in 1829, according to a return from the clergymen, 9240 persons were supported in, and 57,688 out of the poor-houses, or one person in every $43\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole population; and the poor-rate for supporting these 66,928 poor amounted to 1,241,751 dollars, the collections for the poor to 305,566 dollars, together 1,547,317 dollars, or 124,616*l*. In the little town of Orebro, the number of poor in 1780 was from 70 to 80 persons; now it is 400. In Nora division of Nerika, in 1814, the poor-rate was 170 dollars 4 skillings; and in 1832 it was $2138\frac{1}{2}$ dollars. No doubt can be entertained, from these facts, that poverty is increasing in this country *; and not from a rise in the standard of living, — by which, as in England, persons who for dress, or clothing, lodging, and way of living, would have been considered well off two or three centuries ago, are considered destitute or suffering severe privation now, — but from a fall in the employment and wages of labour, as compared to

During the 20 years of peace, from 1815 to 1835, the population of Sweden has increased by 560,373, being at the rate of 28,018 persons yearly. The paupers on the poor roll have increased during the same period from 86,009 to 121,318. Pauperism has increased nearly 50 per cent., and population less than 20 per cent., in 20 years of peace.

the price of food, connected perhaps with the depreciation of the currency. In the above statement of the poor funds, and numbers supported by it in the kingdom, $23\frac{1}{10}$ dollars appears to be the cost of each person on the poor funds. By a statement of the costs of supporting a labouring man's family, consisting of the man, his wife, and three children, taking all the articles furnished to him *in naturalia*, at the prices of a medium year, and in the middle of Sweden, it appears that the actual value used by such a family is 146 dollars 32 skillings, or 29 dollars 16 skillings yearly for each person: that is only about six dollars more than is required to subsist each person in pauperism; only six dollars above zero in the standard of living — taking pauperism as zero in the scale.

In this city a working tradesman, with a wife and four children, can with difficulty live, according to the accounts received from several in that station, and detailed in statistical works, upon less than 546 dollars banco yearly, or 44*l.* sterling nearly. In London such a tradesman, with a wife and four children, would require to earn thirty shillings per week, or 78*l.* yearly, to be above want;—but thirty shillings per week may be found in London far more readily than sixteen shillings per week here. It is evident that illness, or bad weather, exposes the workman here to great distress, because he has no expense that he can spare, at the very best season, to meet the worst: there is also the unavoidable evil I have before noticed, that the labouring class here must gain in summer what is to keep

them in food and fuel in winter: they must earn thirty shillings a week, to have sixteen for every week in the year. It will perhaps account for the immorality of Stockholm, that there is this difficulty in supporting a family in the lower or middle ranks.

CHAPTER V.

STEAM VESSEL TO TORNEA. — ISLES AND ROCKS. — NAVAL DEFENCE OF SWEDEN. — GUN BOATS. — RUSSIA TO SWEDEN. — GEFLE. — SODREHAMN. — APPEARANCE OF THE COAST. — HEAT. — HUDDIKSVAL. — STROMMING FISHERY. — SUNDSVAL. — HERNOSÄND. — BISHOP FRANTZEN. — UMEA. — REAL STATE OF THESE LITTLE TOWNS COMPARED TO THOSE ON THE SCOTCH COAST. — INNS. — BOOKSELLERS' SHOPS. — RAW SALMON. — ROADS TO LAPLAND. — JOURNEY. — AASES. — COLONISTS IN THE FOREST. — DEGERFORS. — COWS. — SINGULAR HABIT OF CATTLE. — SALTPETRE. — POTASH. — TAR. — NOT TO BUY, THE RULE OF LIVING. — A RELIGIOUS SECT CALLED LASERE AMONG THE SETTLERS IN THE FOREST. — THEIR HABITS. — INCREASE. — PROBABLE BENEFIT. — FISHING APPARATUS. — A KIND OF EARTH USED AS MEAL. — BARK BREAD. — EDUCATION. — GENERALLY INSTRUCTED STATE. — PETER LÆSTADIUS. — ACCOUNT OF HIS PARENTS. — VIATICUM TO POOR SCHOLARS. — VEGETATION. — ANGERMANLAND. — WEAVING. — STATE OF THE PEOPLE. — HUSBANDRY. — RETURNS FROM SEED. — CHURCHES. — JOURNEY. — RIVERS. — SUNDSVAL. — IMPORTANT POSITION. — PROJECTED FORTIFICATION OF VANNES. — STOCKHOLM DEPENDING ON FINLAND. — IMPORT OF NECESSARIES. — REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL.

July. — WALKING along the quay below the palace, at which the sea-going vessels lie, I observed, the other day, a nice-looking steam vessel, called the Norrland. I inquired what northern land she visited, and found she goes up the Gulph of Finland once a fortnight, touching at all the sea ports as far as Umea. Once, in the month of June, she extends her course as far as Tornea, to give the tourists, who doubt the fact, the satisfaction of seeing

the sun above the horizon at midnight. At Tornea, in latitude 66°, this is not exactly to be seen; but from the top of a hill, called Avasaxa, near to Tornea, the incredulous may be satisfied. For the rest of the season, that is until the beginning of November, she goes only as far north as Umea. I do not like travelling upon a plan, following a fixed route, laying down where I shall go, what sights I shall see, where dine, sleep, and so on;— it is anticipating the traveller's greatest pleasure, his independence and freedom from preconceived end or object. I determined at once to make a trip with this vessel: packed up, and got on board at eight in the morning, on Tuesday the 3d of this month: the deck was crowded with passengers, luggage and goods, the quay filled with people taking leave of their friends, and all was bustle and confusion, until we got a little way below the town. The Malare lake may be considered as continuing its course below Stockholm; for where there are no tides, it is difficult to say where an estuary begins or ends. The scenery is that of a lake with numerous wooded islets and points of land, low, but which, seen rising from the calm water behind each other, through the haze of a fine sunny morning, form many beautiful soft views. This character of scenery continues as far as Waxholm, a little town with some batteries and works of a very trifling appearance, considering the importance of the situation; for it is the key to the metropolis on the sea-side. The different passages to the main sea, through the myriads of

rocks and islets which surround the Swedish coast, concentrate at this place, which is about thirty English miles below Stockholm. We took the passage to the Gulph of Finland, called the Furoc Sound, which leads inside of the chain of rocks and isles. The Swedes rely very much for the defence of the country, upon the difficulty of penetrating through this astonishing labyrinth of isles and rocks which encircles their coast: — it is called the Skär-gard, — that is, reef-defence: they have given up all idea of a naval force, to act outside of this natural fortification. In fact, to fit out a fleet to cope with the Russian of twenty-five sail of the line, would be beyond the pecuniary resources of the country, or the seamen that government could command. The ten ships of the line, thirteen frigates, and so on, which figure on the naval list, are like crown jewels, for show, not use; the whole body of seamen, including boatmen, at the command of government, is but 8121 men; and a general land-sturm, or calling out of all liable to serve at sea instead of on land, for the defence of the country, would only augment the number by 11,500 men; — this number, even if the men were all seamen, would not keep a fleet manned. The Swedish commercial marine is diminishing, having been, in 1827, about 7500 tons more than in 1834, and being now only 30, 139 tons: this is not a nursery from which a state can man fleets of the line. The commercial marine of Norway has, no doubt, been augmenting in a greater ratio than that of Sweden has been falling off; and

about 23,000 men are reckoned her whole force for sea defence, in case of a land-sturm, of whom 8000 are seamen employed in her commercial marine. But Norway is far off, and the enemy to be opposed is within a few hours' sail of the Swedish coast: the naval efforts of Sweden are therefore necessarily limited to organising and keeping up a fleet of gun-boats, to act within this belt of rocks, and manned with people supported, like the indelta land troops, by allotments of land on the coast. Of these open boats there are about three hundred, carrying one heavy piece of ordnance and one small gun, rowed with eighteen oars, floating quite low in the water, and apparently admirably constructed for their use. The whole coast, however, is not protected by this rocky outwork; a large extent of coast, just opposite to the Aland isles, the point from which attack may naturally be expected, between Hogskar-kumle and Grisselhamn, seems not protected at all; not covered, like the rest of the coast, by this natural net-work of rocks and isles. A military line which cannot re-enforce any point in itself from its other parts, is no real line of defence; for the gun or two at the point attacked being all that can act, the rest might as well not have existed. This is unfortunately the case with the only defence-line which this weaker power can present. The Aland islands are a point from which Russia may break into Sweden when she pleases, and where she finds it most expedient to cross this rocky girdle. It is but a distance of twenty-nine English miles from Russia to Sweden, from Eskevoe, in the

Aland isles, to Grisselhamn, in Sweden; and in those islands Russia keeps up a body of troops greater than the whole standing army of Sweden. If France were to collect a body of troops at Calais or Boulogne, equal to our whole peace establishment, we would consider it a just cause of war, and of calling on our allies to join us in demanding an explanation of demonstrations which threaten the peace of Europe. Sweden, obliged to submit to demonstrations on her frontier inconsistent with her safe enjoyment of a state of peace, is not an independent power among European states. Her parade of diplomacy at every court is but an idle show, for the power of acting independently is gone.

In sailing through these uninhabitable rocks and islands, one is struck with the loneliness and want of life; the myriads of knobs and islets, some bare, some covered with stunted trees, appear like summits of a submerged world just rising again above the waters; the succession of rounded hummocks of gneiss with no variety of outline, no crag, cliff, or strand, but all rounded lumps without any feature by which you can remember the one from the other, is monotonous, yet very impressive from its vast continuance, and the deep silence over all. There are no boats sailing among these islands, no wild birds screaming over them,—the very water seems dead from the want of currents; you might fancy yourself sailing along some coast on which animal life has not yet come into existence. There are few tracts of Europe so unique in character as this Skär-gard scenery of the Baltic coast of Sweden.

We arrived next morning at Gefle. It is a town of considerable importance, with two churches, several broad good streets, and 8000 inhabitants. Several large vessels belong to the place; and, next to Stockholm and Gottenburg, it is the most important trading town in Sweden. The houses have all gardens, in which I observed pease and beans in blossom. The plane, the mountain ash, the laburnum, and the black poplar, are flourishing trees here; but are planted, not native. The common people appear well off in this town; they keep cows, and goats, and have a considerable extent, for the size of the town, of adjoining land cultivated in garden husbandry. These are advantages of great weight in a poor household. The people evidently have employment in this town, and several large vessels on the stocks show that this place is thriving.

After discharging a great deal of goods, our vessel proceeded through the same maze of islets, and towards sunset went up a long and beautiful sound or inlet for several miles, and stopped for the night near a little town called Sodrehamn. We take firewood on board at those halting-places; coals are more expensive than wood in this quarter. Our vessel has two engines made in Sweden, of 60 horse power, which cost 33,000 dollars banco, or 2657*l.* sterling. This is cheaper than English machinery; but the engineer tells me, the parts not being so well fitted, the Swedish are dearest in the end, consuming more in tallow, oil, and stuffing, than the difference of price, and being less durable. There

are at present about forty-six steam vessels in Sweden. It is but just that the government of the time should have the credit of all the progress which society makes under it. The reigns of William IV. in England, and of Carl Johan in Sweden, have, in this view, done more for their respective countries than all the Guelphs and all the Vasas who preceded them.

The whole coast of the mainland is as low as the coast of England. There are no banks or cliffs above a few feet high over the sea, and in the distant horizon no hill appears of any considerable elevation. If the country were covered with soil, it would in shape be very like the middle of England: it is the same skeleton, but without the flesh. The rocks and isles through which we sail, are but a few feet above the level of the water; they all appear, both the larger and smaller, to have their longest diameter in the same direction, from N.N.W. to S.S.E. within a point or two; but from the deck of a steam vessel running through them at the rate of ten miles an hour, such an observation is not to be much relied on. It would, however, be an interesting fact if they trend in the same direction generally as the Aases of rolled stones and sand which are so remarkable upon the surface of the land of the peninsula. Their lengths appear not to run from seaward towards the main coast, which is the direction that the lengths of portions of a mass of land or rock cut into islands by the action of the sea outside beating against it for ages would naturally take, but is parallel to the sea and

main coast; so that the present sea could not have excavated the hollows or channels between them and the mainland which it now fills. The present shape of the under-sea land, and of its summits or islands, must have been caused by the agency of some other power than that of the present sea during any succession of ages; and in this I conceive the very extraordinary tract of sea coast round the whole peninsula called the Skär-gard, or in Norway the Skjar-gard, is different from all other sea coasts.

During the whole evening we had the weather excessively hot, although there was a kind of haze over the sky which obscured the sun so much that I could not light my pipe with a good burning-glass. I supposed some large tract of forest must be on fire in the interior, as it was not like fog or mist from evaporation; but the sailors call it sun-smoke, and distinguish it from the fogs that carry damp or rain. I slept on deck, the musquitoes having driven me from my quarters below, and observed that not the least dew had fallen during the night from this fog. In the morning we got to Huddiksval, a very neat little town of 2000 inhabitants, principally engaged in the stromming fishery. We have no idea in Scotland of the extent of this fishery, or of its influence upon the northern markets for herrings. It is the herring fishery of this coast; and in importance, in the quantity of food it produces, and of the capital and industry it employs, and of the scale of trade and outfit connected with it, the stromming fishery

may stand a comparison with the herring fishery. Gefle and all the towns on this coast owe much of their prosperity to it. The curers send out vessels with barrels and salt to different stations among the islands, to receive the fish from the fishermen. The stromming are taken with a seine or sweep net; not as we take herrings with hanging nets, against which the fish run and are caught in the mesh. These are only used for the larger fish, some of which are not less than a common herring of the Frith of Forth; but the general size of the stromming is about four inches in length, and too small to be caught in the mesh of a net. The smooth rocks, shelving into deep water, admit of drawing the seine. The stromming is about the size of a sprat, but is a much more delicate fish. They are cured like herrings; and a barrel of salted stromming is as necessary in every household on this side of the peninsula, as the barrel of herrings on the other. They are also used extensively over all Finland and the north of Russia. In these countries, salt is a scarce commodity in the interior. The sea affords none; and all that is used must come from Spain, France, or England. Salted fish seems to be the cheapest form in which salt can be carried into the interior; and from some natural craving of the constitution for salt as a condiment, people here relish, in a way we who are abundantly supplied with salt cannot understand, a dish once or twice a week of salted herrings. A herring or stromming raw out of the pickle, and bread with soup of milk or of beer, make a favourite repast even in families of

condition. The fish of the Baltic, the torsk, stromming, salmon, appear to be, as it were, of transition breeds, between the salt water and fresh water fish. The inhabitant of the salt ocean may be recognised in a smaller and more delicate form and texture, in the brackish fresh water. The cod and salmon are of a finer texture. The pike, perch, barbel, cray fish, are found in the Baltic as well as in the lakes, and these are not oceanic fish.

From Huddiksval we coasted during the evening to Sundsval. The belt of small rocks and isles is interrupted again in part of this evening's run, and the main coast open to the sea and to the Russians. We had no land outside of us, and even a gentle heave like that of the ocean was perceptible. Between two islands, called Ball's Islands, there was an appearance of a current, or tide. The captain tells me there is in summer always a current running N.N.E. along this coast and down the coast of Finland in the opposite direction. He ascribes it to the melting of the snow on the Fjelde, which fills the many large rivers falling into this side of the gulf. I had no means of trying the saltness of the water; but to the taste it seems to have lost the muriate of soda, but not the other ingredients of sea water. It is fresh, but brackish; and so far unfit for use, that our vessel carries a stock of fresh water.

Hernosand, July 6. — We arrived at 10 o'clock this morning at this little town, having left Sundsval at 3 o'clock. At this season, day or night can make no difference to the navigator; but when

nights become dark, or even now when night fogs are expected, it is necessary to wait for daylight. Soundings are of no use in guiding the pilot here.

The bishop of the diocese, the most northern bishopric in Sweden, has his residence here. He was a passenger in our vessel; and in all the places we touched at, the people showed a respect and interest which only a good man in any station could receive; for it was voluntary, and from all ranks of people, not merely from the clergy who came to wait on him. Bishop Frantzen is one of the most distinguished poets this country has produced. He asked me to pay him a visit on my way back. I wonder if ever an English bishop asked a Swedish traveller whom he met in a steam-boat, to visit him? Yet in talent and social influence, our bench of bishops can certainly produce no individual equal to the Bishop of Hernosand. The rest of our passengers are gentlemen in business, one or two students from Upsala, and two German shipmasters going to purchase a vessel. The trade of shipbuilding has started up in all these little towns within these five or six years. We have seen at least sixteen vessels on the stocks of from 300 to 400 tons burden, in the course of the voyage; and this trade is carried on as high up as Lulea and Pitea. The vessels are built entirely of fir, but are cheap, if not durable, and are purchased by Lubec, Bremen, or Hamburgh merchants. It is this branch of industry which is giving that life and well-being to the middle classes here, which seem wanting in other parts of Sweden. These little towns are all

increasing. The little houses of the middle and lower class — the clergy and public functionaries have large mansions — are snug dwellings, each with a yard and outhouses behind, and a piece of garden-ground, and have the appearance of thrift and comfort.

About this place there is a little flat shore or beach in different places. On this coast a strand or beach is rare, the round-backed rock, although not steep, generally sloping at once into the sea. Where there are beaches or strands they make against the supposed rise of the peninsular land here, for the rolled beach stones are not higher up than ordinary gales of wind might raise the sea waves high enough to drive them to. Opposite to the open sea, or round the points of land in corners on which the swell of the sea would naturally form a beach, there are such; but in the inside where the sea could not have run into waves there are no beaches; and above the present beaches formed by the sea as it now stands, there are no rolled stones, but, on the contrary, the loose stones are sharp and angular immediately above the beach of the present sea.

At Hernosand, there is a gymnasium, at which youth are prepared for the university. It is the most northern school of the higher class in Sweden.

Umea, July 9. — We stopped last night to take in firewood, and put out goods at a hamlet called Norra Angermanland, up a sound, or fiord of beautiful scenery — as beautiful as wooded islands and points of land of low elevation in a wide lake or

sound can be. When we left it, the weather changed, and we had a smart gale of wind, which on this coast is, as the Swede would express it, less than agreeable. The entrance of the Umea river is very intricate. The river is wider than the Tweed below Berwick, and flows with a strong current through flats and rocks. Stake-net fishing seems carried on extensively in its estuary. There being no rise or fall of water, it is carried on differently from our stake-net fishing, in which the ebb tide leaves the fish imprisoned in the last recess of the net. Here the fish are merely led by a range of stakes clothed with nets into a square space, and are swept out of this space by a seine attended by two boats. Last night, before the gale came on, we sat on deck; and a lady, who in any country would have been called beautiful, played the guitar and sang Italian airs as we glided over the smooth sea in the evening sunbeams. Can this be the road to Lapland, I thought, or am I coasting on the Adriatic? It is rather ridiculous, when we consider on the spot the false impressions which travellers give us of distant places — innocently, no doubt, because these are their real impressions received in an excited state of mind. This Umea, and all the towns I have passed, are, in sober reality, very like our own coast-side towns of the same population. The people earn their living in the same way, by the fisheries, the trade of ship building, and the supplying the neighbouring country with wares. The people are clad in the same way — the peasantry very like our own Scotch country

people. In some respects the difference appears to mē in favour of the little towns here. They are more open and airy, the streets better paved and cleaner; the houses more roomy and nice, the meanest with window-curtains or blinds, and flower-pots in the windows, and much better washed and scoured. The inns are better. I am here in a more comfortable, cleaner house, than any of our smaller towns in the north of Scotland, excepting, perhaps, Inverness, can boast of. In this little town of 1100 inhabitants, at the distance of 470 miles from the capital, there are two booksellers' shops, in which I found a good stock of modern books, among others the Life of Columbus, by Washington Irving, in English. All the comforts, conveniences, and, to judge by the appearance of the ladies and gentlemen, the elegances of a refined life, are to be found in as great abundance as in our small towns, and perhaps even extending lower in society, from the daily mode of living being less costly. In the appearance or habits of the people, there is nothing to give you the idea of ignorance, rawness, or a low state of manners. There is nothing of Lapland here, except perhaps in the food. I had seen "*graf lax*, that is, rough salmon, or, in other words, raw salmon, on the carte of a restaurateur in Stockholm; and seeing other people eat it with relish, I called for a portion too, but could not bring myself to swallow a slice of raw fish. Here it was put down for breakfast along with slices of smoked salmon, and slices of smoked reindeer flesh; but none of these articles had ever been on the

fire. The two German shipmasters breakfasted at the same time, but could make nothing of these raw materials. I determined to try, since such is the food of the country — and I must live like the people of the country to know how they live — and with oil, vinegar, and pimento, which is used here instead of black pepper, I found *graf lax* not a bad thing. I can understand that a taste for it may be readily acquired. The meat, however, of these fresh-water salmon — for these, like the salmon of the Wener lake, do not probably go to salt water, but are a different variety from the oceanic salmon — is of a finer texture, and is not oily or stringy; which I suspect a raw slice of a Tweed salmon would be. With this raw breakfast, we had better ale and wine (both French wine and Madeira) than we would get in the inn of a country town in Scotland. Dinner was well dressed; and except that custard over the spinage is not our way of using these eatables, presented nothing different from Stockholm. The linen, beds, and every article in the household being clean, nice, and in order, the servant girls very neatly dressed, and the kitchen as nice and bright as in any English house, the difference between this town and the chief towns, for instance, of Ross-shire or Caithness, in the comforts or refinements of civilised life, do not strike me as exhibiting any balance against the capital of Umea Lapmark.

Umea, July. — The steam-boat dropped her last four or five passengers here, and returned to Stockholm. From this town, if a vessel made three voyages to Stockholm in the season in which

the Baltic is navigable, it was considered a fortunate circumstance — now people get all they require regularly within a fortnight. This must make a greater difference in the condition of people in this part of Europe, than any that steam vessels can produce elsewhere. The Laplander and the court dandy are now fellow-subjects, within six days' reach of each other.

There is but one main road through this country, that which goes from Stockholm to the northern frontier, at Haparanda, opposite Tornea. The town of Tornea, with the river, was ceded to Russia from the ignorance, it is said, of the Swedish negotiators, who supposed that Tornea was situated on the north side of the river, and it happens to be on the south; so that the actual frontier now is not the river line, but a pole or mark on the plain. The only side branches from this main road here in the north is one from Umea, which runs sixty or seventy English miles into the interior.

Degerfors, July. — After a few days' stay at Umea, I resolved to make an excursion up the country as far as the road will take me. Around Umea the country is flat, sandy, and very sterile: rye is the only crop that looks well. All the spring-sown corn, and the potatoes, are suffering from want of rain; and as during seven successive years the crops have been very short, and in the last years a total failure, people are under great anxiety, and are now reduced to bark bread in the interior. The plain of Umea appears at a little distance very densely inhabited, from the great number of small

houses scattered over it; but as neither smoke nor sound was issuing from these cabins, I examined them, and found them only barns, one invariably to each field for holding its whole crop. This was necessary before carts and wheels were known, and when roads were not passable until smoothed by snow; and still continues, after the cause has ceased. The whole population of the town and neighbourhood is but 1200 to 1300 persons. On leaving this plain, the road goes into the forest, which covers the whole face of the country. The soil being a dry sand and gravel, the road has required no other making than cutting an avenue through the trees, and laying them where necessary across the pools and gullies. The country is so flat, that there is scarcely any stream, but many terns or pools, and lakes. Hissio, about fifteen miles in the forest, is the first inhabited place I came to. It is a cleared space of land, of about three hundred acres of poor arid soil, in cultivation, and inhabited by about twenty families. I got a fresh horse at a neat and very clean little cottage. Notwithstanding the poverty of the soil there was a great deal of property in household goods in the house, and I conclude that it is not from such a soil that these people draw their means. On leaving Hissio, I plunged again into the forest. Tree behind tree, as far as the eye can see between the stems, a sandy tract of a road, and sameness of shape in the country, make it dull travelling through these forests. There is no underwood; and pines are the only trees, excepting now and then a thick round-leaved

birch. The ground under the trees is curiously carpeted with white rein-deer moss, and patches of short brown heath. The total want of grasses, and the short fine sward, as it may be called, of moss and heath, strike the eye as uncommon — and is of pleasing effect, from the contrast of colours, white and brown, instead of green, investing the soil. After passing near one or two clearings of single settlers, I came to a lake called Tafvelsio, round which there are several. If one were in a balloon, these little townships or clearings in the midst of the dark sombre mantle of pine which envelopes the whole land, would be scarcely noticed. They are but as islands in the ocean of forest. At the west end of this lake there is a remarkable feature of country. One of those *aases*, or banks of rolled stones and sand, upon which the road is carried, cuts the lake in two, crossing its upper end exactly like an artificial mound — very like, but upon a vastly greater scale, the mound raised across the little ferry between Sutherlandshire and Ross-shire; much longer, and quite as narrow. The lake could not have made it, because there is not water enough to wash up gravel or stones; yet it must have been produced since the lake had its present shape, for the two unequal parts into which the lake is separated by it are bounded by the same continuity of land, are the same basin, the two parts of the same piece of water; and from the small elevation of the land forming the containing sides of this basin, the water could never have stood so high as the top of this mound without running

out to the eastward. This *aas* is a formation independent of the existing waters, or any power they could have had, yet posterior to the present shape of the basin or lake, which it cuts across; and appears to have been superinduced upon the face of the country when it was of the same shape as at this day. I got a horse at a single house on the side of the lake, with a girl to take him back, and proceeded into the forest again for about ten miles, to a more considerable settlement, called Roda. It is on the bank of a large river, called the Wandel, as large as the Tay at Perth, and which is one of the main branches of the Umea, falling into it from the north. In this township there appeared to be twenty or thirty houses, and the soil much superior to any I have seen on the Umea. From this township I proceeded again through the forest, broken only by a single settler's work here and there on the banks of the river. The mode of clearing land here is like the American. The trees are cut down and burnt, and a crop of rye is got among the stumps. These are cleared away slowly, and potatoes by degrees planted as the clearing proceeds. The log house is enlarged or added to year after year. The forest keeps the cow and goats in summer. The birch leaves, and the bog-hay collected in the mires, keep them all winter. The fish of the rivers and lakes are much depended upon; and bark bread in the seasons which they have lately had has been the only kind which the new settlers could afford. There is something interesting in the condition of this almost

unknown class of people. They are more numerous in Lapland than the Laplanders: they are reckoned at ten thousand, and the whole Laplanders in Sweden, four thousand. I reached Degerfors after a drive of about twenty miles from the last settlement. It is also on the Wandel river, and has a church and resident clergyman; the different settlements, old and new, in a wide circle, being included in one parish, of which this is the chief seat. There is a space of nearly an English mile in length, and half a mile in breadth from the river to the forest, under cultivation in this township. I shall stop here for some time. The *fors*, or rapids of the river, at this place promise excellent fishing.

Degerfors, July. — It is singular that a thin-skinned, fine-haired, delicate, small-boned animal like the Alderney cow, should be the cow of this cold climate. It is a much finer breed than I saw on the road to Stockholm. The colour is generally milk-white, or dun and white. I have not seen a black cow in this quarter. They are apparently of a good milking breed, and, probably from their food, their milk at this season is very rich. I live on milk and fish, and am as well lodged in the house of one of the peasants as one can expect. Every thing is remarkably clean. It is the custom here in Lapland for all travellers to go to the clergyman's house, where, as in Scotland, the stranger is sure of a hearty welcome; and if I had only been travelling through the place, I would have gone to the manse for a night. As I wished to remain some days to gather all the information I can about these colonies in

the wilderness, I am better lodged where I am with one of the settlers themselves.

Degerfors, July. — The people of these insulated spots of cultivation in the interior can seldom raise any more agricultural produce than, with the aid of fishing, snaring ptarmigan, and using bark meal, can keep a family. To pay their land-tax and other necessary demands, they have one or two secondary branches of industry. One is preparing saltpetre. This is received by government at a certain price, and the peasant can pay his taxes with it, although earning very little for his labour. It has introduced a singular habit among the inferior animals. To collect the urine of the cattle for this manufacture, the little children and women watch the cattle with a pail, and have not only brought them to fixed periods of the day, but even out of doors they will not stale until they see the child with the bucket to receive it. In no country, not even in Flanders, is there more attention paid to the collecting of all sorts of manure, which is transported in barrels to the little field on which it is used. The peasants are so much enlightened on the value of manure, that if they could pay their land-tax as readily by any other means than delivering saltpetre, they would prefer applying the urine they collect from their cattle to the fields. Potash is another manufacture which flourishes as a secondary branch of industry. The ashes of leaf-trees, that is, in this country the birch, aspen, mountain-birch, hag or wild cherry (*prunus padus*), and alder, will yield potash; but not of the

needle-trees, that is, pine or fir. Saw-dust will yield none. A barrel of good ashes will yield about 40 lbs. of raw, or 35 lbs. of calcined potashes, which will bring in about three shillings sterling to the peasant. This manufacture is extending; and even here there is a calcining furnace at which each man prepares his own potash.

Tar is a third article of manufacture. The machinery of the world could scarcely go on without tar; yet we seldom think of inquiring how it is made. Fir trees (*pinus silvestris*), which are stunted, or from situation not adapted for the saw-mill, are peeled of the bark a fathom or two up the stem. This is done by degrees, so that the tree should not decay and dry up at once, but for 5 or 6 years should remain in a vegetating state, alive but not growing. The sap thus checked makes the wood richer in tar; and at the end of six years the tree is cut down, and is found converted almost entirely into the substance from which tar is distilled. The roots, rotten stubs, and scorched trunks of the trees felled for clearing land, are all used for making tar. In the burning or distilling, the state of the weather, rain or wind, in packing the kiln, will make a difference of 15 or 20 per cent. in the produce of tar. The labour of transporting the tar out of the forest to the river side is very great. The barrels containing tar are always very thick and strong, because on the way to market they have often to be committed to the stream to carry them down the rapids and waterfalls. The price is only 6 rix dollars riks gäld per

barrel to the peasant, or 6s. 8d. sterling, and often not so much. It would not pay his time and labour; and those who follow tar-making are always the most indigent: but they must deliver to the privileged merchants of the towns, who are generally their creditors, the article these choose to take, not that which in a free market will best repay the maker.

The women are, in every cottage all over the north of Sweden, occupied with the loom. The clothing, of woollen and linen, is made at home, in every family; and a great quantity is made for sale to the towns. Flax and hemp are growing on most farms. The rule in every family in Sweden, high or low, is to do as much as possible by household industry, without going to market. It is impossible that trade or manufactures can be in any very flourishing state, where, from habit, want of money, and distance from towns, this has become the prevailing mode of living. People only buy what they cannot possibly exist without, and cannot make any substitute for themselves — and these are but few articles. It is quite as necessary to train a people to consume as to manufacture, to exchange rapidly industry for industry. The want of this home market, in which a man can sell his own products, and buy such as he requires, and the want of any desire to do so, are the naturalconsequences of the selling and buying being restricted to privileged persons and places. A people in this state never can make any advance of importance in trade or manufacture; and Sweden is in this state.

July. — I got up very early this morning, and went down to the rapids, or *fors* of the river, to fish. I came unexpectedly upon a party of six or eight men, women, and young people, gathered in a snug hollow of the river bank, which only an angler would have thought of visiting at so early an hour. One man with his hat off, was reading the Bible to the others, and just concluding and shutting the book. They seemed in a little confusion until they saw that I was fishing, and taking no notice of them. When my landlord came to join me with his fishing rod, and they found that I was lodging with him, and not at the manse, — and they asked the question — they seemed pleased, and came to admire my tackle, and my great success, for I was picking up the small fish — guinard or *siek*, and trout, of the size of herrings; sometimes two at once. There is, I had heard, a religious enthusiasm spreading itself in the north of Sweden, especially among these colonists or new settlers in Lapland, which the clergy attempt to put down, and extinguish. These religionists are called Læseren — the readers — from their reading the Scriptures, and must keep themselves quiet; because, although they cannot be openly persecuted, and there is an enlightened and liberal public in Sweden, who would be roused if any person were openly oppressed on account of his religious opinions, yet where the clergyman is all powerful in his parish, and has the public functionaries to support him, there are many ways of making the poor man who presumes to have either too much

or too little religious zeal to suit the pastor, feel in his worldly concerns the ill-consequences of wandering from the beaten church road. These Læsere do not form a sect having communications or internal regulation, which would probably expose them to the law, but they are numerous and increasing, and their preachings or meetings are attended by people from great distances. Of their peculiar doctrines I could get no distinct account: it is said that they preach the efficacy of faith alone, and the uselessness of good works; that some of their leaders have given themselves out as Christ to their followers; but the truth is, the distance between the upper class and the lower in Sweden is so great, the points of meeting so few, and no connecting links between, that the former do not know what the latter are about. This is very much the case even with us, notwithstanding our numerous middle class. The upper classes talk and form opinions of the lower, without sufficient data, or knowing in reality their condition. In Sweden, where all society is classed and privileged into distinct corps, the higher are strangers to those below them, in a greater degree than in other countries. I doubt, therefore, the Swedish accounts of these Læsere, or their doctrines, especially as there is a tasteless attempt to ridicule them, and their affected use of scriptural phraseology. There may be hypocrites among them, and many laughable personages and pretensions; but still it is a remarkable fact, that in this least depraved quarter of the country, a spirit is arising in religious concerns, which the

Lutheran clergy are attempting to suppress, and which their own preaching and doctrines cannot satisfy. It will necessarily extend its influence over the morals and habits of the people. The regeneration of Sweden, her restoration to the rank of a moral nation, will probably be effected by means directly opposite to those which are working on society in England. There, it is the influence of a virtuous middle and higher class, penetrating through a mass of ignorance, poverty, and vice, in the vast population called into existence by our manufacturing prosperity. Here, the impulse will come from below. It will be a virtuous labouring population influencing a priesthood and upper class; the former too far removed by corporate and political rights, from the condition of the flocks they should instruct; the latter dissolute, idle, dependent on court favour, and independent of moral character or public opinion. It was a party of these Læsere, sitting like our Cameronians in the hollow of the river bank, that I came upon this morning. I afterwards asked my landlord what all the people were doing so early at the river side. He assured me they only came there to drink the waters of a mineral spring which were very wholesome; he showed me a little well in the neighbourhood, and I was satisfied.

It is singular how rude and ill-constructed their fishing apparatus is here, considering the great importance of fish in their housekeeping, and that they cannot use nets in this river. Their line is a piece of coarse twine at the end of a heavy pole,

although they have plenty of horse hair to make lines of; the hook is tied on so clumsily, that it is wonderful any fish takes it. They are far behind our Highlanders in this useful art; although more dependent for food upon it than even the people of Zetland or Orkney. I passed the day very usefully in teaching two or three of them, as well as I could, to use some flies I gave them. They were quite delighted at their own success; and the fish, to do them justice, seemed determined to do honour to my teaching. They are more voracious, I suppose from their long winter fast, than the fish of our rivers, and will bite at any thing. If any British sportsman should ever be tempted to wander to Lapland, I advise him to stop at the station house here: he will find a clean bed, a neat little room, excellent milk, fish to eat, as many as he can catch, and a rapid of two or three miles in the river, which affords excellent fishing spots, at every two or three yards; and if he wishes to do a great deal of good at a cheap rate, such a fishing philanthropist should go into Lapland with a bag full of fishing materials, and skill to put them together.

July. — I had heard of an earth found in the Fjelde being used as a substitute for meal, in this parish, as well as the common substitute of ground pine bark. I made myself master of the subject, as well as of a specimen of the earth and meal, by a present of some hooks and flies to my landlord, an intelligent man, but as unwilling as any Scotchman to expose the natural defects of his parish. About five years ago a poor man of the parish, living

forty miles up in the forest, cut down a tree, which in its fall tore up the moss on which it grew, and laid bare some very white-looking stuff, like meal: he baked it into bread, with some rye meal mixed, found no bad taste with it, and all the world of this and the next parish, flocked to the spot to take their part of this extraordinary blessing of meal produced in the earth, at a time when they were reduced to bark bread. The functionaries of the district at last heard of it, and gave orders that it should not be used until they had ascertained that it was safe; some of it was sent to Stockholm to be analysed. It was found, I have been since told, to consist of finely pulverised flint and feldspar, with lime, clay, oxide of iron, and a residuum of some organic matter, similar to animal, which yielded ammonia and an oil. The proportions or the regular analysis of the substance I could not learn. All my landlord knew of the matter was, that they were told not to use it, because it would lodge in the stomach and be indigestible; but that people who had used it both in pottage and in bread, were never the worse of it, and it is still quietly used. In America, some of the native tribes are said to use a kind of earth as food occasionally, which also contains some trace of animal matter. This substance is of a yellowish white, very light, and does not effervesce with acids. If it contain any trace of organic or animal matter, it would be curious, as no impressions or relics are found in the primary rocks of this part of the peninsula.

Bark bread is at present in general use in all

this part of the country. The new settlers have no other meal, and bake it very thick that it may hold together. It is acrid, dry; yet, covered with plenty of butter, it is eatable. The older settlers have at present rye meal to mix with it half and half, and bake this mixture as thin as our oat-cakes. This is so far from being uneatable, that prudent housekeepers in good circumstances use it to save their seed corn, even when grain is not dear: and the ruddy cheeks of the country girls prove that it is no unwholesome food, qualified no doubt as it is with plenty of butter, and milk, and hard work. The half and half, however, tastes strongly of timber, and gets as hard as a board when kept long. The present price of rye is 18 rix dollars riksgäld per tonde, which is equal to 4.53 bushels. This makes their bread corn about 4*s*. 6*d*. sterling per bushel, and wages being 12 skillings banco per day, a day's labour will earn $\frac{1}{11}$ of a bushel. The ordinary price of rye, on an average of 10 years, has been 9 rixdollars 13 skillings riksgäld. The population of all the Lapland parishes has increased rapidly by the new settlements in the forest: in Lapland these are exempted from the direct land tax; and in other border parishes for a certain number of years, according to the agreement the settler can make with the Crown officer. Upon an application the ground is inspected, and ceded to the applicant on condition of certain proportions of it being brought into cultivation within a certain number of years. In the 25 years from 1805 to 1830, the population of this parish has increased from 1057

to 1899 persons; of the adjoining 9 parishes, comprehended in the Bailiewick of Umea Lapmark, from 5950 to 9812 persons. They have elbow room, for these 9 parishes have an area of no less than fifteen millions six hundred and fifty thousand English acres. That the population may increase here considerably and with advantage, is beyond a doubt. Communications through the country, capital to bring the iron ore in which it abounds to market, and freedom of trade, are alone wanting: but until the miserable system of privilege in trade and dealing is abolished, no other advance can be expected than that which is going on, by poor refugees from other provinces making a living partly by fishing and catching game, partly by husbandry, partly by working tar or potash for the privileged kings of the country — the merchants of the towns. This tract may be peopled in this way, but it will be a population of paupers, burdensome to the government when the crops fail, a circumstance which in latitudes above 60 is considered certain of one crop in five. These borderers are a very interesting people. They occupy the outskirts of Sweden all round the land side, between the old cultivated land and the barren waste, wherever a little soil appears on which a living may be made. Some of these settlements are of ancient date, and are in all respects parts of the old cultivated land of the country. Others are but cleared spots in the forest, 30 or 40 miles apart from the rest of the world, but which have in the course of a generation or two grown into settle-

ments like this, of 10 to 20 families; and a few of these scattered in the interminable forest widely apart from each other, are a parish. New settlers again of single families live alone in the forest far distant from all human help or communication, and depend for subsistence upon the lake or river, the cows and goats which they keep in the woods, and the handful of rye growing among the black scorched stumps of the trees which they have burnt down around their log huts. These are not unfrequently 70 or 80 miles from the church. In these vast parishes, however, the church attendance is regular, even from settlements from which the people have to set out the Friday before. There are certain Sundays on which, it is known to all, there will be full church service in the head church. It is generally every third Sunday. On the other Sundays, prayers are read, but those within reach only attend. To the full service all even from the greatest distances, attend; as besides their religious duties, all have some business with their neighbours, which is transacted before or after church-hours. The poorest and most remote have some want to supply—salt, or gunpowder, or meal; and some superfluity to sell or barter—skins, butter, game, frozen and dried fish, or tar. The bargains and arrangements are made here: the public business, such as payment of tithes or taxes, is announced. Baptisms, marriages, and funerals take place. Those who have no business, attend to meet their fellow-creatures from a kind of instinct to congregate. Around the church in these large

parishes, there is always a hamlet of empty buildings, some merely sheds or stables, others with a room or even two for living in: these are the church booths of the distant inhabitants. They bring their provisions and horse fodder with them, and, in case of bad weather or business, have a shelter and home. From the convenience of roads and situation, these kirk-towns, which are uninhabited and locked up in general, have become the seats of periodical markets and fairs, and the houses are let occasionally to merchants for booths.

It might be expected that education is in a low state, in these remote poor settlements, in which the few people can barely subsist their families, and cannot possibly keep a schoolmaster, nor support their children at a distant school. It is however to the honour of the common people of Sweden, that they alone of all European nations, have outstripped the schoolmaster, and are so generally masters themselves of reading and even writing, that parents in the lowest circumstances have no more occasion for a schoolmaster to teach their children these elementary branches of education, and also the church catechism, than they have for a baker to make their bread, or a sempstress to mend their clothes. Of the whole population, including even Laplanders, it is reckoned that the proportion of grown persons in Sweden unable to read, is less than 1 in 1000. This general diffusion of elementary education among the people, is ascribed to the zeal of Gustavus Vasa and his immediate successors. John III. in 1574

ordered that the nobleman who had no knowledge of book learning, should forfeit his nobility. Charles XI. in 1684 required the clergy to have every Swedish subject taught to read; and he made it a law, that no marriage should be celebrated unless the parties had previously taken the Lord's Supper; and that none should be admitted to the communion-table who could not read, and was not instructed in religion. This law has spread family education. Parish schools are only found where there happen to have been lands or rents bequeathed in old times for the endowment; and these in some parishes are fixed, in others ambulatory. The total number of the parish schools is not known: but in one province Wexio-lan, in 86 congregations there were but 29 schools, either fixed or ambulatory, for teaching the first elements; and in this province, in 40,000 people, only 1 person was found unable to read. It is supposed that more than one half of all the parishes in Sweden have no schools. The children are taught by their parents at home. Petrus Laestadius, one of the missionaries at present in Lapland, and the son of a settler in one of those colonies in the forest, gives a very interesting account in his "Journal of a Year of a Missionary's Service in Lapland," published in 1836, of the privations and hardships which his parents had to endure in the wild and lonely forest, about forty miles from any other habitation. "Yet with all their poverty (he says), and all their striving for the most pressing necessaries of life, our parents never forgot or put off the teaching us to read. Before we could well

speak, our father taught us our prayers; and these were the first thing in the morning and the last at night. Our mother spared no pains to teach us to read in a book, and at five years of age I could read any Swedish book, and at six could give reasonable answers to questions on the head points of Christianity." This, too, was the house life of the poorest of the poor among new settlers; for fish, the making glue from the reindeer's horns they could gather, and a little dairy produce, were all the means of subsistence which the parents of Petrus Laestadius had. I find from the same interesting work, that here in Norland, learning is held in such respect, that students who have concluded their course of education at the Gymnasium in Hernosand, but want means to follow out their studies at the University, receive recommendations from the Consistory, and a permission to collect a viaticum for themselves within certain parishes; "and every peasant thinks it a duty to give them something, generally 12 skillings; and the poor scholar will thus collect from 300 to 700 dollars." These are curious traits of ancient manners.

July.—I wished to have found a road across this back country. From this river to Lykesele on the Umea river, there is a continuation of the same road by which I came to Degerfors. It crosses the Wandel a few miles higher up, and leads to the Umea; but, unless for foot passengers, there is no summer road from the Umea to the Angerman river up in the country. The coast road is the only one in this thinly-peopled country in that direction. I

must therefore return to the town of Umea and take a fresh departure, consoling myself with the reflection that where there are no roads there are no people, and my object is to know the people.

Onste, July 20. I left Umea this morning, crossed the river, which at the town is as wide as the Thames at Greenwich, and took the south road. The country is a flat sterile plain of sand and gravel of crystalline rock, covered with trees (fir), which from want of soil apparently, are of small size and are barely vegetating. On the other side of the peninsula, in the same latitude as Umea, about the Snaasen Vand and the Namsen river, vegetation is more luxuriant: but shelter in deep valleys, which is found on the west side, appears of more consequence to vegetation than several degrees of latitude. Here the country is flat, swept over by the winds, and although the soil be alluvial, it is the grit and crystalline particles of primary rock, the alluvium of some vast convulsion forming at once a flat arid plain; not the yearly additions of new and fertilising matter washed down from the steep sides of ground, which shelters and feeds the young plants. Sweden is very rich in species, but very poor in individuals of the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Few parts of Europe have so many kinds of plants and animals; and in none, on a given square area, you find so few individuals. In a square mile you may reckon two-thirds of the area bare rock and gravel, producing nothing. In a sod of a square foot, you may almost count the vegetable stalks, but among these, there may be nearly as many dif-

ferent species as individuals. A tight close sward of common grass covering the soil entirely, is rarely seen. Of birds and wild animals, notwithstanding the great variety of kinds, you may travel over a great deal of country without seeing any. The individuals are are few in proportion to the great extent of country.

July 21.—I slept at a single house called Onste, 9½ Swedish or 65 English miles from Umea. The whole country is of gneis covered with rolled stones and gravel. The soil and scenery improve, there being more rise and fall in the ground, although nothing to be called hills and valleys. At one place there is the appearance of an old beach considerably elevated above the present shore of the Baltic, at a point of land some miles north of Onste. But when there are so many beaches raised by an agency different from the Baltic up in the interior of the country, it seems not good reasoning to ascribe them to different causes. The same flood, debacle, or whatever it is termed, which rolled stones and heaped them in banks or Aases two hundred miles from the Baltic, would do so at its present shore.

Docksta, July 22.—This day's journey of 8 Swedish or 56 English miles has brought me into a different country, out of the gneis or granite into the compact rock of deposition. There seems to be a gradual transition of the one tract of country into the other: the primary rock seems to lose by degrees its characterestic texture and some of its constituent parts; mica seems less abundant, and feldspar less firmly crystallised. The two forms of

chemical and mechanical rock seem not to exist in all their intensity in juxtaposition. About two English miles from this place (Docksta), there is a hill of trap. The soil improves as the distance from the Umea increases. The trees are of more luxuriant growth. The country becomes more hilly, or rather the rising grounds, although not higher, are not so broad over, fall more steeply into the hollows, and give more shelter. These hollows are occupied by little lakes connected sometimes with long bights or sounds of the Baltic, and cultivated up to the rock or Aas of rolled stones of the heights, which although bare of soil are covered with trees.

Angermanland, in which I am now, is like a manufacturing district in England. The loom is heard in every room of every house. Every burnside has its webs of linen on its green banks. This manufacturing is entirely domestic; the whole carried on upon the little farm on which the flax grows, and the whole by the females of the house, except the ploughing and sowing. It is not however confined to linen for household use or for the family clothing. The linen is sold all over the kingdom, and at one little inn, Borsta, there was a table laid out, as we sometimes see in manufacturing districts in England, with products of the place. I was shown linen which appeared remarkably fine, at 1 dollar 40 skillings per ell, or about 3 shillings sterling, and was told the whole piece of 77 ells weighed only 8 pounds. Not knowing anything about linen, I would not buy; in my ignorance conceiving it was no recommendation of cloth to be

fine and light: to be fine and heavy, it struck me, should be the character of a piece of cloth. The people of these two countries, north and south Angermanland, seem to unite on a small scale all the advantages of a manufacturing and agricultural population more fully than any district I have ever seen. The land is all in small estates in the possession of the peasants. The men do the farm business, the women are driving a not less profitable branch of industry. There is full employment at the loom or in spinning, for old and young of the female sex. Servants are no burden. About the houses and inside, there is all the cleanliness and neatness of a thriving manufacturing, and the abundance of an agricultural population. The table linen laid down even for your glass of milk and piece of bread, is always clean; the beds and sheets always nice and white. Every body is well clad, for their manufacturing is like their farming — for their own use in the first place, and the surplus only as a secondary object, for sale; and from the number of little nick-nacks in their households, such as good tables and chairs, window-curtains and blinds, — which no hut is without, — clocks, fine bedding, papered rooms, and a few books, it is evident that they lay out their winnings on their comforts, and that they are not on a low scale of social well-being, but on as high a scale as such of our artisans as have a clear view of constant living by their trades. This is Sweden. It is here in the northern provinces, that what a country may justly be proud of, is realised.

The spinning mill and the power loom will probably not deteriorate the condition of this manufacturing population, because the women alone are the spinners and hand-loom weavers; and the family subsistence is produced by the men, out of their own land. No machinery can supersede human labour by cheapness of production, if the food and living of the labourer are no part of the cost. Cheaper linens in their market would only increase their stock of household linen at home, and turn the rig of flax next year into one of potatoes: their comforts would scarcely suffer, and their subsistence not at all.

The best crop in the country, from Umea southwards, is the rye: it is sown in autumn, and they are now preparing the land for this crop with great care, ploughing and harrowing it alternately, and reducing the soil to a state as fine as garden ground. It is rare to see any considerable breadth of land in one crop. From one half to two acres is the common size of a field of rye, big, or pease; the latter seem to take the place of the oat crop in this quarter. Big or bear is the main corn crop: I observed it in ear generally about the 14th of July, and in consequence of dry weather the crops were considered late. Every farm must grow a little of every thing — of rye, big, peas, flax, potatoes, and hay for the cattle, as the family could not depend upon selling a surplus of any one kind, to buy the kinds they wanted; besides having the risk of a total failure of one kind of crop. This is the reason of the small patches of various crops on

the face of the country. It is inconsistent with great husbandry — with producing great quantities of food from the land by the application of capital and skill, but is not inconsistent with good husbandry — with pains-taking, garden-like culture. The number of returns from the seed in the provinces north of latitude 62°, is not so very different from that of countries better farmed, and more favourably situated. By the returns given in every five years by the governors of provinces, it appears that in the provinces of Pitea, Umea, Ostersund, and Hernosand, the quantity of seed sown in 1832 was, of wheat 7 tonde; of rye 4408; of bear 65,095; of oats 3890; of mixed oats and bear 5655; of peas 1874; of potatoes 24,371: and the returns, deducting the seed, were, of wheat 36 tonde or 5 returns; of rye 32,624 or above 7 returns; of bear 28,1011 or above 4 returns; of oats 12,747 or about 3 returns; of mixed corn 21,586 or not 4 returns; of pease 9642 or above 5 returns; of potatoes 169,877 or about 7 returns. In France the average returns from the seed are reckoned by Necker not to exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ of corn. It may be doubted if in the ordinary husbandry of England, the returns exceed 5 of the seed on an average. The great difference produced by agricultural improvement seems to be in the cost of production, rather than in the quantities produced from the seed. In these four provinces, it appears by the returns, to cost the labour of 149,484 men, 28,958 horses, 4962 oxen, to raise these 527,523 tonde; or 263,761 quarters of grain; that is, a pair of horses or oxen is required to raise every 15

quarters; and almost two men are employed in, or at least living as husbandmen for, raising every quarter. With us, one man and a pair of horses are reckoned sufficient for every 50 acres; that is, at the same average of five returns, for every 125 quarters of grain raised. This, and not the greater returns from the pickles of seed-corn put into the ground, which accidental circumstances of weather may make as great from badly farmed land as from the best farmed, is the real gain of agricultural improvement.

Fjal, July 23. — From Docksta to this place, on the side of the Indal river, the road is through a beautiful intermixture of woods and water. The Baltic penetrates far into the land by long, narrow, and winding sounds or firths, which are bounded on all sides by wooded points of land, of small elevation. These are the fiords of the other side of the peninsula in miniature, of more beautiful and picturesque, but not of such grand and sublime character. The churches here are very conspicuous objects in the scenery; they are almost all new, and built on one plan, or at least in one style: I suppose it is Italian; — a large brick building plastered of a dazzling white, a square tower at one gavel, and a pepper-box on four pillars on the top of it, to hold the bell. I have no doubt they are in good taste in their proper place; but here they do not harmonise with the scenery. They are like gentry who have walked out of town in full court dress, and have lost their way in the forest. I prefer the ancient wooden structures,

with their weapon-houses on one side; that is, a house, in which of old the people deposited the arms they travelled to church with, before entering into the sanctuary; and their picturesque bell-houses, or towers for the church bells, separated from the church. The grey old wood-work with its fantastic carving and shape, suits better in a landscape of bare rock and dark forest; and that is the predominant landscape of Sweden. The labour of man in two thousand years is nothing in this vāst scene of wood, rock, and water, and does not harmonise with its rude magnificence.

I found in all these sounds the people very busy with the stromming fishery. I got to a single house, called Alanö, just as they were dividing the produce of the night's fishing: they had taken eight or ten barrels with the seine. I stopped for breakfast, and paid three pence sterling for roasted stromming, eggs, bread and butter, cheese, ale, strawberries, milk, raw salmon, smoked rein-deer meat, and brandy — all of which were put down for my threepenny breakfast. A good seine, complete, will cost 200 dollars banco. A barrel of salted stromming sells for about 18 dollars riksgald in ordinary seasons, or about 20 shillings; the barrel of fish sells, if the heads of the fish are off, for a third higher.

In this day's journey I crossed, in a ferry-boat, the Angermanland river, which is the largest in Sweden. It takes down a vast body of water from Jemteland; and at its mouth it appears to be

about a mile and a half across, and very deep. It is navigable for forty miles.

Sundsval, July 23. — On leaving my quarters of last night, I had to cross the Indal river. It is also very large. The ferry-boat takes passengers across an arm of about 250 yards wide; and on walking over a little island of about the same breadth, another arm of the river of about 100 yards has to be crossed. This river evidently runs through rocks of a different nature from those forming the beds of the Umea, or even the Angermanland river. It fertilises the plains, and on its banks the vegetation is far more vigorous than northwards. In fact, the country from the Umea to the Angermanland river, about 160 miles, although one sheet of wood up to the rise of ground too high for trees, which is at least 160 miles back from the coast (for the rise is very gradual), produces no great quantity of large timber. The trees are all of a stinted growth compared to those of the country drained by the Indal. The quantities prepared for shipment, as deals or battens, on the two former, seemed very trifling. From the Angermanland river to the Indal is only about 35 miles, and the course of both is nearly parallel. With this little space dividing two large floods, the country must be more deeply cut and indented by side streams, and afford more shelter to vegetation. There is something apparently connected with the ground rock of a country, and with its waters, of more influence on the growth of plants than latitude or elevation above sea level.

July. —Sundsval is a neat thriving little place,

carrying on a direct wood trade with England. There are a dozen vessels loading in the port. The population is reckoned about 2000, who are well lodged, and have an Italian church, and dwelling-houses of a comfortable equality in appearance, all neat and clean. These wooden towns are very like the houses of a child's toy-box. They are necessarily all alike, consisting of good, dry, tight houses, new or newly painted; none very large or very lofty; none like those in stone-built towns, of different centuries — different forms — and expressing the different ideas of comfort, convenience, or grandeur of former generations. The old streets of London, of Edinburgh, and of every burgh and town in Britain, give a history in brick and mortar of the progress of civilisation and well being from age to age. In Sweden, there is no air of antiquity about any thing.

July. — This little town is, in one point of view, the most important in Sweden. The new road across the peninsula, uniting the north of Sweden and Norway, begins here. It passes from the Bothnian gulf at this town, up to Ostersund, 130 English miles from hence; and from Ostersund over the Fjelde, and down to the side of the Dronthiem Fiord, about 150 miles more; and is practicable at all seasons. This place must, therefore, be an important military point. The army which has this communication in its rear, has the command of cattle for its supplies, and is master of its movements over half of Sweden and Norway. It is singular that this important neighbourhood, so near

to an enemy's out-posts in Finland and the Aland isles, is left entirely defenceless; while all the means of the country are turned to the construction of a central fortification upon an island or promontory in the Wettern lake, called Vannæs, about 245 miles south-west from Stockholm, which is to be made impregnable. The system of centralisation of Carnot, by which all the defences of a country are to be concentrated in one impregnable point, has been probably advocated by that great tactician from a review and consideration of the military history of France, the Netherlands, and Italy, in which the many master pieces of fortification constructed by Vauban, were of injury rather than of aid in the defence of those countries against invading enemies; from the division and separation of the troops which had to defend them. There the concentration in one strong point appears, even to the ignorant, a principle founded on common sense, which the genius of Carnot has discovered in military science. But Sweden is not France or Flanders. Would that great tactician have advised the same system of defence that is applicable to those countries, with their dense population in a comparatively small circular space, for a long narrow stripe of country, very thinly peopled, and having its only possible enemy all on one side, and in a position to cut it in two in any point? Vannæs was commenced in 1819, amd is intended as an impregnable place of retreat for government, should the capital fall into the hands of an enemy; and the defences of the capital, and of every other point, are postponed to the

accomplishment of this somewhat visionary project. The threads of government centre in Stockholm, The minds of men are an element not to be left out of such speculations. Whoever is master of the capital, and dates his orders from Stockholm, is master of the country in public opinion. Vannæs also, however centrical for the provinces to the south of the Malare Lake, could be no point of rendezvous, or of support for the population of the north. The want of such in this part of the kingdom strikes the stranger who casts his eye over the map; considers the relative positions of Russia and Sweden; and amuses himself with conjecturing what, in the event of a war between these two powers, would be the probable march of invasion.

When Finland and Pomerania were parts of the kingdom of Sweden, the capital Stockholm was centrically situated; the city received few of its supplies from the surrounding country of Sweden Proper, but still it was supplied from Swedish territory on the other side of the Baltic. But Stockholm is now on the verge, or rather on the outside of the country of which it is the metropolis. It receives its supplies from a foreign land, and consequently wants that communication and interchange with the rest of Sweden which, in other kingdoms, bind the capital, the government, and the country together, and diffuse one mind and spirit through a nation. Finland continues to be the country from which the metropolis of Sweden is supplied with all the necessaries of life, and upon which she is entirely dependent. The very fire-

wood for the royal palace, when I was at Stockholm, was being landed from Finland out of vessels of that country. The following list of the supplies of the first necessaries of life, received in one year from Finland, shows the entire dependence of the capital of Sweden upon a foreign power: — 3,246 head of cattle; 3,805 sheep; 3,746,920 lbs. of meat and bacon; 101,900 lbs. of cheese; 1,846,820 lbs. of butter; 626,800 ells of linen and woollen cloth; 660,940 lbs. of candles and tallow; 4,300 fathoms of firewood; besides meal, dried rye bread, fish, vegetables, and other necessaries in great quantities, to the value, in short, altogether, in a medium year, of from 2½ to 3,000,000 of banco dollars. This false position of the capital can scarcely be remedied. The increasing number of steam-boats on the lakes are as yet of advantage only to the privileged traders, and to passengers of the better class; and while the restrictions on free trade continue, can do little towards supplying the capital during the whole year. It might, in these circumstances, be a wise policy for an energetic government to remove its seat to a more centrical and independent site. There is another consideration of no small moral weight, which renders such a step desirable, and almost necessary for the stability of the new dynasty. They are surrounded at present — they are met at every step — by some memorials of the great men of the Vasa race. Here is a spot sacred in the recollections of the people, to the first Vasa,— there is his statue staring them in the face. This establishment they owe to Gustavus Adol-

phus,— these ornaments of their city to Gustavus III. It is necessary to break this chain. It is no disparagement of the military merits of Bernadotte, to say that it would be altogether ridiculous to place them by the side of the successful struggles of the first Vasa for the independence of Sweden; of Gustavus Adolphus, for the religious freedom of mankind; or of Charles XII., for military renown. The royal dynasty will be in a false position when, in the course of nature, it comes to depend upon ancestral merit interwoven with the history, establishments, and national feelings of the Swedish people. It would be therefore a wise, but a hazardous policy, to begin a new history; to remove their capital to an independent site; to surround themselves with memorials of their own, and sink the Vasa race into the same oblivion as that has sunk the race of Swerker, or Saint Eric. If the works carrying on at Vannæs are preparatory to a removal of the seat of government, they must be considered in a very different light from that of the silly adoption of all foreign ideas and schemes, however unsuitable to their country, to which the Swedes are prone.

CHAPTER VI.

SWEDISH SYSTEM OF POSTING. — JOURNEY FROM SUNDSVAL. — CHEAP TRAVELLING. — AASES. — GEFLE. — POPULATION. — MORAL STATE. — PROPORTION OF CRIME. — CROSS ROADS. — CROPS. — GUSTAVUS VASA. — GUSTAVUS IV. — SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE RISE AND FALL OF THIS DYNASTY. — DALECARLIANS. — FAHLUN. — MINES. — MINING DEPARTMENT. — AMOUNT OF COPPER. — OF IRON. — MACHINERY. — SALA. — ROADS. — DISTRICT OF THE VALLEYS. — HUSBANDRY. — UPSALA. — OLD UPSALA. — TEMPLE OF ODIN. — UNIVERSITY. — LUND AND UPSALA. — PROFESSORS. — SALARIES. — STUDENTS. — NUMBERS STUDYING THE DIFFERENT SCIENCES. — CLASSES OF SOCIETY TO WHICH THEY BELONG. — NUMBER OF NOBILITY AT THE UNIVERSITIES SMALL. — CLERGY. — NUMBER. — NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS. — PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION. — PRESSURE ON THE COUNTRY. — CLERICAL DUES. — EDUCATION. — LUTHERAN RELIGION. — BEHIND THE RELIGIOUS WANTS OF THIS AGE. — WANT OF INFLUENCE ON MORALS. — LITERATURE. — PRINTING. — PRICE OF BOOKS. — THE HISTORIAN GEYER. — SIGTUNA. — CITY OF THE SAGA.

July. — I HAVE had an opportunity this rainy day, of seeing the effects of the Swedish system of posting with the horses of the peasantry. A lad, sometimes a girl, comes with horse and cart, — there are generally three or four at once in the yard of the public house—and lounges about in the gin shop or in the yard, until a traveller arrives, or until their time of waiting is out. They are then relieved by a new set; and this goes round as regularly as on a cavalry out-post. In the country, the people living in the immediate neighbourhood of

the road or inn, are probably not so exact in waiting at the house; but at six o'clock in the evening, the day begins for the tour of duty with these *hal hester*, and very heavy fines are imposed upon the absentees or defaulters. By a reference to the day-book, which every innkeeper must keep, and which is given in monthly to the authorities of the district, the traveller sees whether there should be *hal hester* on the spot (the number belonging to the station, and the number taken out, being stated), or whether he has to wait for the reserve horses. The young people attending with these horses, if not drinking, are idling and wasting time to no purpose. It is a very barbarous institution for a civilised country to be proud of; yet you often hear Swedes boasting of the superiority of travelling through Sweden on their excellent roads, and with their admirable posting! Government seems aware of its impolicy, and is adopting the soundest measures for its gradual abolition — the establishing of steam-boats on the canals and lakes, and of a coach on the road between Göttenburg and Stockholm. In 1832, the number of horses kept in Sweden was 385,059, and of oxen 262,581, while the quantity of grain, including potatoes, put into the ground as seed, was 1,168,328 imperial quarters, — that is, one working beast, horse or ox, was kept for working less than two quarters of seed; or, taking the horses alone, one horse was kept for every three quarters sowing of land, which may be 4 acres overhead of arable. People do not keep what they do not need. All farm work in Sweden must

be done at once, and any proportions of working stock to arable land in our climate, are inapplicable here; but with all this admitted, the keeping of 6 horses in Sweden to do the agricultural work which one horse does in a year in Scotland, viz. his half of 50 acres of arable land — and the horses in Sweden are quite as good on an average as the common Scotch,—shows that the horses are needed for some other use; that the farmer must keep superfluous horses, under this miserable system, to meet his posting duty, and get through his farm work in due season. What would an English or Scotch farmer say if he were compelled to send his servant, or perhaps his son or daughter, to the next gin shop, with his horse and cart, to wait for three or four hours two or three times a week, for the call of travellers; and if one comes, to be obliged to allow him to drive the horse to the next stage, his own servant sitting behind, for a mock price of a penny a mile for the horse, and nothing for the use of his cart and harness? It is ridiculous to hear a people talk of constitutional rights and free institutions, among whom the first of all rights and the foundation of all — the right of every man to his own property, time, and industry, without infringement, on any pretext, for the convenience of others, not even of the public but for the fullest compensation and on the most urgent state-necessity — is so little understood or felt. This system prevails also in Norway, but with the alleviation that the farmer is only obliged to send his horses on getting three hours' previous notice from the traveller; but

not to keep horses waitng at the station as *hal hester;* is paid for detention; is paid for the use of his harness and cart; and is paid more than double of the Swedish price per mile for his horse. But still it is an abuse inconsistent with all freedom or rights of property. The morality of societies is much connected with a deep and strong sense of the sacredness, the inviolability, of property and of private rights among men.

July 26. — I set off this morning early from Sundsval, and passed a loading place of an English house in the timber trade, Messrs. Dixons', at which the enterprise and good order of an English establishment of business struck me in passing, particularly here in the midst of the forest. The English do business more cheaply than any mercantile people in Europe. Here every little grocer, who perhaps does not turn over goods in the course of the year to the value of a couple of thousand pounds sterling, must have his *fuldmagtigt*, that is, a clerk, with his procuration to transact all business in his name; his cashier, his bookkeeper, and a host of under clerks, who, although their salaries may be small, must live upon him. The Englishman has enough, and never too much of such, and never trusts the main strings of his business out of his own hands.

The country is covered with the same dark green mantle of small stinted pine, with here and there a cultivated township of land cut out in it, seldom exceeding 200 acres studded with grey wooden rickety houses. There is not the appearance of thrift and

prosperity here that is so striking to the north. There are no looms at work in every room; nor the good dwellings and abundance of household goods. The soil and the people seem poorer. The country is studded with large rolled stones, but here the corners and edges are so sharp that they have clearly never been much rolled or exposed to friction. In the appearance of the houses here, there is something less pastoral than in Norway, where they stand generally upon the green sward, which reaches, unbroken but by the footpath, to the very doors and close round. Here the houses are huddled together; little dirty or dusty roads between, ragged fences around, and those lumps of rocks sticking up every where. The way of living among the country people is much the same as in Norway. Five meals a day are regularly taken even by those who are using bark meal. Fish, meat, cheese, milk, and gruel, that is, meal with milk or with meat soup (meal and water would be thought very poor gruel), are the articles of diet. Dried rein-deer meat, smoked salmon, mutton, and game, are the solid articles. Cheese and butter being saleable, are more sparingly used than on the other side of the Fjelde, where there are fewer markets. The mid-day sleep is as regularly taken by all ranks at this season as in Spain or Italy. I got to a house called Mallsta to-day, about 50 English miles, crossing the river Nyurunda upon a good wooden bridge of seven arches.

July 27. — Travelling here is certainly cheap and comfortable. You pay 16 skillings banco or

about 6½ pence sterling per horse for the Swedish mile, which is about 7 English. The boy who accompanies you to take back the horse, for you are entitled to drive yourself, is as well pleased with 8 skillings banco, or 3¼ pence sterling, as an English post-boy with 3*s.* 6*d.* for the stage. It is very characteristic of the two nations in this peninsula, that if you pay the Norwegian boy a little more than he expects, he bawls out *Tak ! Tak !* (thanks, thanks), like the clapping together of two deal boards ; seizes your hand, and gives it a squeeze and hearty shake, which make your bones ache ; the Swedish sighs out his *Tak odmydegst* (thanks most humbly), kisses the back of your hand, and retires, making his obeisances with a grace which many a country gentleman at Queen Victoria's court might envy. In Norway, if you give a penny to a child, or alms to a beggar, you can scarcely get off without a shake of the hand: the more polished Swede kisses your sleeve or the skirt of your coat. You always get clean sheets and nice bedding at the poorest inn in Sweden, and our road-side inns in Scotland, even in the south in many burgh towns, are not to be compared to the Swedish. At this seäson, strawberries and milk, eggs, fish, raw salmon, which you may get roasted for your own eating, are to be found every where, and excellent coffee ; but the fare generally is scanty, and travellers who are particular, should bring a provision basket with them, well stocked. The *gaestgifare-gaard*, which formidable word is expressed by our three letters — inn — has generally a separate build-

ing for lodging the guests in, apart from the family house, and which, like a manse, is built by the parish. The innkeeper is a kind of public parish officer, having jurisdiction in disputes about post horses, turns of duty, and so on ; and must keep regular lists of these, which are inspected and countersigned by the local functionaries once a month. He is also authorised to examine the passports of all travellers, and must enter them in his day-book. Sweden has all the trammels of the French system of passports upon the internal communications of the natives. The artisan and labouring man cannot move from one place to another without passports and waste of time. I travelled to-day about 50 miles, and stopped at a house called Mo Myskie. Although all this country, from the water edge up to the ridge of the Norwegian Fjelde, which is from 150 to 200 miles from the Baltic shores — as the peninsula slopes upwards very gradually on this side — is covered with one mass of forest, the trees are but stinted and of small growth on the coast, and for many miles up from it. Shelter and warm exposure in deep glens or valleys may make exceptions; but generally there is no wood fit for any thing but tar or charcoal on this road, which runs parallel to the coast, touching the heads of some of the deepest inlets, but generally 10 or 12 miles from the sea.

July 28. — I travelled great part of this day on one of those singular ridges or mounds of sand and stones which I met with on the borders of Lapland. Here it is on a greater scale, running at least ten

miles from Strakarra, to Tradia, and cutting in two several small lakes. The road is carried upon the top of it, which may be from eight to fifteen feet above the level of the water or of the plain on each side, and to which it slopes steeply and equally down. It cannot be an ancient sea beach, because it slopes equally on both sides, and there must have been a water power on each side, one within, as well as one without, to give it both slopes. It is also of subsequent formation to many moderate heights of the ground rock, not much more elevated than itself, because it never crosses or covers these, but abuts against them. It is a formation also subsequent apparently to the present small lakes which it cuts into two, because the two parts belong generally to one basin of surrounding ground, and this is an anomalous unconnected feature of ground in their *assiette*. But it appears to be an older formation than that of the rolled, or erratic stones, for many of these rest upon it. This, and the sharp edges and corners of many of these erratic blocks, make it no improbable conjecture, that they have been transported on fields of ice, and deposited on their melting — an operation now going on hourly on the sea, in parallel or lower latitudes, on the American coast. It is observable, I think, of all these erratic masses of stone, that generally they rest upon the smallest base their surface presents. Many are almost rocking-stones, and have been taken for works of art or of giant power by the vulgar in all ages, the points of contact on which they rest being so small. Now if

they had been rolling or in motion, this would be contrary to mechanical law or experience, for the largest area of base would have presented the greatest resistance to the rolling power, and the mass would have rested upon its largest base. But this pear-like shape is compatible with the circumstance of being deposited in shallow water, and rubbed against by gravel in torrents or tides until the lower part of almost every mass is worn away.

July 29th. — The ash, the black poplar, and the plane, begin to relieve the landscape from the pointed outline of fir tops against the sky, although in all Swedish scenery the latter are the characteristic feature. Every country seems to have a scenery peculiar to itself; at least people distinctly recognise an Italian, a Dutch, a Highland, an English landscape. The characterising features in a Swedish would be, this long, jagged, sky line of fir tops, a little lake in the bottom enveloped in woods, and at one end a little lively green spot of cultivation, studded with grey masses of rocks and grey houses of about the same shape and size. The country being flat comparatively, its streams have not the same run or liveliness, nor its breaks the same abruptness as in our highlands, or in Wales, or Norway. Ruysdal's pictures would find fewer prototypes than Kuyp's in Sweden. The soft wooded scenery of these lakes, with the distant points and islands swimming between the air and water, remind you much of Kuyp's style of landscapes.

Gefle, August. — This is the sixth town in population, standing next to Stockholm, Gotten-

burgh, Carlscrona, Norrkoping, Malmö, of the 85 or 86 places reckoned as towns in Sweden, from having privileges for corporations and foreign or wholesale trade. It contains, however, only 8034 inhabitants. It has 72 vessels, of the average of 240 tons, and 797 seamen, being the third in rank as a trading town. I remained here a day or two, because the sixth rate town of a country is a better sample of its town population than its first or second, and I found some minute information upon its social condition. There are in Gefle 1539 housekeepings, of which 120 are reckoned wealthy, 890 above want, or well off, and 529 in want; the proportion of poor to those above want being 1 indigent to $1\frac{9}{10}$ not indigent. There are 13 nobles, 35 clergy, 60 military, and 105 civil functionaries, it being a head town of a province of 95,822 inhabitants. The nobles are probably among the civil and military functionaries. The support of the poor costs 10,200 dollars, being equal to one sixth of the whole taxes paid to government, and to one third nearly of all the town taxes. The support of the clergy costs 2860 dollars. Of these 8034 inhabitants, 1 in every 75 has been condemned for a breach of law in the year 1837; but throwing aside all the offences against custom-house or excise, or forest laws, as of inferior moral delinquency, but retaining cases of assault, fornication, and excessive drunkenness, as more or less subject to the penal laws of all countries, there has been 1 in 109 of the population condemned in 1837. Offences punished with fine, and not stated whether only breaches of

police regulations, I have omitted, in order to get at the real moral condition of the people. In this town there are but 5092 people above 15 years of age to commit moral offence. We have surely no such proportions of moral offence in our little towns. Taking the country population of this province, the 95,822 persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, 1 in 595 has been condemned in 1837 for moral offences, not including as such the police transgressions, or offences against conventional laws. This province and town, 120 miles from the capital, and with no peculiarity favourable or unfavourable to their moral state, must be an average of the country. It is a very low average compared to any of our counties of similar population. What would we think of five murders in one of our Scotch counties of 90 or 100,000 inhabitants, as rather a light average criminal calendar, which that of 1837 is considered to be in that particular crime?

August. — This little town is in a state of excitement, in consequence of the suppression a few days ago, by the censorship at Stockholm, of its newspaper. It had a considerable circulation in the north of Sweden, and Gefle being a kind of emporium for a large part of the country, the suppression of the means of advertising and communicating, is a serious evil to mercantile people. The causes of these suppressions can only be guessed at until the editor is indicted; and it has happened more than once, that the cause has been some obscure paragraph or expression which the world had

totally overlooked in its conjectures. The only effect of this particular suppression was, that at the usual time of delivering the newspaper, the subscribers received a humorous card, announcing the untimely death of this the editor's firstborn, and a newspaper under another name, which he requested them to consider the representative of the defunct. The suppression, of course, gives six times the circulation to the newspaper, from curiosity. There is a kind of infatuation about this government, in this unnecessary feud against a press which was actually favourable to it. Questions have been raised, and subjects investigated, which government should in wisdom have allowed this generation to forget.

Borggaardet, August. — I left Gefle early this morning, and reached this single house, about 50 English miles up the country, at night. The roads across the country seem not so well attended to as the main roads leading to the capital. This, at least, was in a bad state, and in wet weather must be useless as a road. Oats appear here a common crop. To the north of Gefle it is not generally raised. Mixed corn, that is, oats and bear together, is very common here: but I suspect it is bad farming, for the land is full of annual weeds, which from the difference in the time of the two kinds of grain getting above the ground, are not smothered as under a full plant upon the soil of either of the two growing by itself. Rye is the main crop and appears excellent. The hay crop appears not to be of sown grasses, and is all put

upon heshes, that is, rows of long poles laid one above another, about a foot apart, upon standards fixed in the ground, and which appear like the racks or screens on which laundry maids dry clothes. The grass is laid across one of these poles, and beginning with the lower, as many as five or six rows, one above the other, are loaded with the grass, which is considered quite safe from heating or damage from rain when once put up in this way. The most common weed in the grass here appears to be the French willow, next to that the great ox-eye daisy. Our common daisy is very rare here. It is reckoned that, north of the 60th degree of latitude, of five crops two fail, two are moderate, and one a good crop; and two thirds of the area of Sweden is north of this latitude.

I am now upon historical ground. Gustavus Vasa wandered through these woods, when, in September 1520 he was pursued by the officers of Christian II. The barn in which he threshed corn at Isala for Sven Elfsson, the peasant who concealed him from Christian II.'s officers, still exists, and is still possessed by the descendants of Sven Elfsson. I travelled with a student from Upsala, whom I met on the road, to this inn, which is in the midst of all the historical localities which the events of Gustava Vasa's first appearance among the Dalecarlians render interesting, and he assured me, every peasant is even more minutely acquainted than Professor Geyer himself, who is an historian equal to his tale, with all the anecdotes of the period. It was one of a great display of virtue in private life

acting in and wielding public affairs. Gustavus Vasa was but one nobleman among a whole class, and but a private unimportant man compared to Christian II. The Dalecarlians were but peasants moved by some extraordinary impulse of public spirit now apparently effete among that class in every country. Sweden has a history to be proud of; yet the Swedes have forgotten it.

There is a strange similarity between the beginning and end of this royal dynasty in principle, although so widely apart in wisdom and achievement. It began and it ended in poverty, consistency, or rather determination to do or endure all for what was believed right, and in the most perfect disinterestedness. Gustavus, the late deposed monarch in whom it ended, has not been fairly appreciated. We hear only the accounts of his folly and misgovernment from a faction who sold Finland to Russia, who sold his crown to his uncle Charles XIII., and the reversion of it to the present dynasty. Money or safety for themselves might be the price; still it was a foul transaction. That Gustavus IV. was a man ill-educated by his uncle, probably to keep him always under pupilage, of narrow confined views, and perhaps crazy as we say of persons in private life, is no doubt true; yet there was reason in his madness. What would not the sovereigns of Europe, of Prussia, Russia, Austria, or England, have given, to have been able to say, at the close of the tale, that they had as pertinaciously as this man, rejected, from first to last, all community with or acknowledgment of Buona-

parte, and even renounced the orders and personal decorations in which the Emperor Napoleon was associated. It was folly in so weak a potentate — so it was — but not greater folly than it was in his great progenitor Gustavus Vasa, while threshing in the barn of Sven Elfsson, to fancy himself entitled to cope with Christian II. the sovereign of the three northern crowns, and the brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V.; and to march with 20 Dalecarlians from this very parish to Gefle on such a project. There was neither folly nor wisdom actuating either of these men, as far as folly and wisdom regard results; but a sincere addiction to what was conscientiously thought to be right, let consequences be what they may. The one man had talents, good fortune, and friends, and gained a crown; the other had folly, bad fortune, and traitors, even in his uncle, and lost a crown. But in these two men, the first and last of a royal dynasty, there is a similarity of principle, the same purity of motive, and a consistency or pertinacity in views which Providence justified in the end. I think, therefore, that Gustavus IV. has not been justly dealt with by his contemporaries. He was weak, obstinate, foolish, narrow-minded, arbitrary, but even his enemies do not deny, and at the present day it is loudly stated in Swedish publications, that he was eminently sincere, adhering not only to the letter but to the spirit of what he was in any way engaged to do; and this sincerity is now often placed in contrast with the subterfuges by which the unconstitutional temporary right of cen-

sorship, granted for an emergency in 1812, is retained by the present government; that his word could be depended upon to the uttermost; that he was a steady friend; and that, in the dissolute unprincipled court which had been reared round his effeminate father, and his profligate uncle during the regency, he was almost the only man of pure moral character, and sincere religious impressions. His folly and arbitrary notions of government might justify his deposition, and the establishment under his heir of such a constitution as would render the personal character of the sovereign, as in England, of no prejudicial weight in the state; but even such misgovernment is not clearly made out. Sweden lost Finland and Pomerania during his reign; but was the loss from misgovernment on the part of the king, or from the most unblushing perfidy of Swedish nobles, who sold the fortresses and positions intrusted to them, without even the pretext of principle, for money? Was it possible to govern well with servants so corrupt? Was the loss of these provinces not similar to the loss, without any treachery in his servants, of the United States of America by our George III.? Was it not the natural progress of society, which rendered it neither possible nor desirable that Sweden, or that England, should govern over sea provinces with which, for six months in the year, she could scarcely communicate at all; and for the other six, before steam navigation arose, but very imperfectly? Did ever man dream that George III. and his dynasty ought to be deposed for the

loss of America? The internal misgovernment is stated to have been excessive, but be it remembered, it is by those who are seeking an excuse to posterity for their own perfidy and want of principle. What did Sweden suffer during the whole revolutionary wars, from 1794 to 1814, compared to Prussia, Saxony, Denmark, Holland, and in fact all other European powers? No enemy was levying contributions, no revolutionary generals raising kingly fortunes by the dons of her towns: — taking her cash account, she gained by the war from the subsidies of England, and her sale of Guadaloupe, provided her cash account was fairly kept: taking her account of killed and wounded, they will be found to amount to a very few hundred men, including all the silly attempts of Gustavus IV. to have a war with France, and all the serious co-operation of his successors with the allied powers: taking her account of internal government, it seems generally felt that all the old abuses are pertinaciously adhered to; all the old institutions, however unsuitable to the present state of society, retained as sacred; the conscription heavier than at any former period, as all men must be enrolled and disciplined; the waste of the time of the common man by government greater; the taxes heavier; the public press more enslaved; and, as in this age the country which is not advancing is going backwards, morality is deteriorating, and public spirit is gone, from the want of a free press and free institutions. The people of the noblest character in modern history, who have made the

greatest sacrifices for religious and civil liberty, are now far behind the rest of Europe in institutions and government suitable to their intelligence as individuals. If Gustavus Vasa were to rise from the dead, he would not recognise a modern Swede in spirit or character. His contemporaries, Queen Elizabeth and Henry IV., would find the English and French people essentially the same, but improved in character.

The Dalecarlians—the men of the dales or valleys — take the same place in the Swedish population, that the mountaineers or Highlanders do in other countries. They are the most simple, hardy, and unchanged in their mode of living. The dales or valleys are the two great river-basins with the many side branches of the Vesterdal and Osterdal rivers, which unite in the neighbourhood of Fahlun, and form one called the Dal river, running into the sea at Elvecarleby, about ten miles south of Gefle. The family of valleys, straths, glens, dales, might perhaps be divided with advantage into two classes — those formed and divided from each other by parallel ridges of mountains or connected hills, and those which are depressions in a table land, without any ridges of mountains, and independent of them. The Dals are of this character. Unless towards the Norwegian Fielde, no chains of mountain elevations divide the branches of the Dal river from each other, or the Clar river on one side and the Lyusne on the other. This land of valleys is inhabited by a people, in number 133,895 individuals, who retain much of the ancient simplicity

of manners, mode of living, and dress. The Dalecarle still thinks himself, as our Highlanders do, of a superior caste, and adheres proudly to his white wadmal coat, his breeches with huge buttons and knee buckles, his hose gartered below the knee; and his wife to her red stockings, high-heeled shoes, and yellow cap. Every parish or dale, however, has some peculiar colour or stripe, but all the women use this shoe with a high heel or prop under the hinder part of the foot. It has given them a peculiar kind of gait, from the back sinews not being so much exerted, and the fore sinews more. When they are walking barefoot at this season, they bring the fore part of the foot first to the ground, as soldiers of old used to be drilled in vain to do. I can distinguish a Dal woman walking barefoot by her gait. It is an evil attending this adherence to their ancient dress, dwellings, and modes of living, that they have acquired no tastes or habits counteracting the tendency to over-multiplication; no expensive wants rendering marriage incompatible with habitual gratifications, or with social standing. They have, from want of these checks, married and multiplied, and divided their little properties, to an extent similar to what, from the same cause, takes place among tenantry in Ireland. Government under different reigns has attempted to check this subdivision of property, by laws establishing a minimum; but such an arbitrary interference with the rights of property of course has failed, for what law can come between buyer and seller, or parents and children, in family arrangements? If govern-

ment had elevated the tastes and habits of the people, by giving them free access to the objects of expensive gratification (by a free trade), the checks to a too minute subdivision of property would have been implanted in the people themselves. People accustomed to cotton and linen would not marry to be clothed in wadmal, or to beget children who are thought suitably clothed in a sheep-skin with the wool inwards. The contrast between this people and the Norlanders, the people of Augermanland, is very striking and instructive. Both are, in general, proprietors of the land they live on; but the latter, probably from living nearer to the sea coast and the small towns which supply their wants, have acquired those tastes and demands for objects of luxury, or rather civilisation, which prevent their subdividing their lands into portions too small for a subsistence according to their ideas of what is necessary for a family. There is no over-multiplication in the north, because the most indigent household must have a house of two or three rooms, a good bed, linen, a kitchen with several copper vessels, and plates and dishes, a clock, a loom, and many other articles which cannot be gathered together without time and money, and without which, people, according to their ideas, could not set up as married housekeepers. Here the ancient frugality keeps the people to the ancient simple wants of what will satisfy the cravings of nature for food and warmth. A single room hut, a slip of land, a few goats, and the ancient dress, the finery inherited perhaps from

former generations, satisfy these. They are not worse off in their squalor than their neighbours; their forefathers lived so. On these therefore, as on a sufficiency, they marry, and multiply, and deteriorate. A royal proclamation, or edict, of 1827, fixed a minimum for the subdivision of estates, by ordering that each distinct possession should be sufficient for the maintenance of three working people, reckoning for that an extent equal to foddering, summer and winter, 1 horse or a pair of draught oxen, 3 or 4 cows, and 5 or 6 sheep or goats. Experience has proved that, from 9 to 15 tunneland, or $7\frac{1}{3}$ to $12\frac{1}{3}$ imperial acres would be the average size of such lots. But the Dalecarlians had a special permission from Charles IX. to divide their lands as they pleased. It would be dangerous to tamper with the ancient rights or prejudices of such a people; and besides, however well meant, such an interference of a government with the rights of owners to sell their properties in such parcels as they please, is opposed to all principle, might be adopted in Turkey, or in France before the revolution, but is a century behind the spirit of our times even in the most absolute kingdoms. It is by improving the condition of the people, by giving them freedom to exert their industry, and to acquire and gratify the tastes and wants of civilised life, that governments must counteract their poverty and deterioration. Royal edicts will not banish want from a people not allowed to work. Russia is proceeding on wiser principles with her acquired province of Finland. She has negotiated

for the Finlanders a free intercourse with their ancient mother country upon the same conditions as when they were Swedish subjects. Stockholm is supplied almost entirely with firewood from Finland at this day, although all round the lakes and canals communicating with Stockholm, there are forests and people starving in them for want of employment. The restrictive system prevents enterprise, or capital being applied to such new branches of trade as supplying the capital. Butter, cheese, grain, dried bread, potatoes, firewood, and meat, are articles for which the capital of Sweden is dependent at this day, in a great measure, upon Russia, and will always be so until the restrictions upon the entire freedom of trade and industry are abolished. With the advantages of all their former markets for the products of their industry, and of less burdensome taxes upon their time and means, the Finlanders with whom I conversed at Gefle, say they are far more prosperous and better off than they were under Sweden, although they have still a warm feeling towards their ancient masters. The Swedish government is unjustly blamed for this concession to the subjects of a foreign power to trade on the footing of natives. It is a measure of necessity, not of the undue influence of Russia; for Stockholm would be starved before supplies could be brought forward under the restricted industry of the country.

Fahlun, August. — I had an opportunity on my way here of seeing the working of the system of posting in Sweden. I ordered a horse for my

cariole to be ready at five o'clock in the morning. A messenger, not paid by the traveller as in Norway, had to go in the night to warn the peasant whose turn of duty it was, and who lived nearly three miles off. At five o'clock, in a dismal rainy morning, a respectable old man of sixty, who, from the appearance of his house, which we passed on the road, must belong to the most substantial of the peasantry, was ready with his horse, and had to sit behind, while I drove fast or slow as I pleased, a stage of 21 English miles; and for this he received 48 skillings banco, or 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling; and, if you please, 2*d.* or 3*d.* as drink-money for himself. This legal abuse of the time and property of the people is the more striking, because here, in a mining district, there is a known value for day labour. It is reckoned at 20 skillings banco for common work about the mines. A man and horse taken from home are surely not fully paid for, at a less rate than three or three and a half times as much as a single labourer's day work near his house. Sixty horses in one day have been required at Fahlun from the peasants around, in the very season of carrying their hay.

This place is well known to, and much visited by, mineralogists and men of science for its great copper mine, and the perfection of the machinery and operations for raising and smelting the ore. It is but in a declining state at present, the number of miners employed not exceeding 500. They work by the piece, all that can be done piece-ways; and 20 to 24 skillings

banco are a day's wages above ground, 8*d.* to 10*d.*, for ordinary work; below, the miner may earn double or more, or not so much. The people are well lodged, and appear well clothed and healthy. This town is entirely what we would call a mining place; although, in addition to its mining dignity, it is the head town of the province of Fahlun, which we call Dalecarlia. It contains 4018 inhabitants, living among the yellow waters and brown scoriæ of the works. The ore has in former ages been found on or near the surface, and worked out in an open excavation of immense extent. Some traveller, I think it is Dr. Clarke, gives us rather too picturesque or sublime a description of this immense gulf. As the work of human labour, it is a great impressive scene; but we must not apply to it description suitable to great scenes in nature of the same kind, as for instance the chasm of Trollhœtta, and many hundred chasms on our rocky sea coast. If we apply to Craigleith quarry, from which Edinburgh is built, the multiplier 3 to all its dimensions, we will have a very lively prose idea of this excavation; and we may leave out the poetry of workmen, half way down, appearing like birds in the air, and all the shudderings and dizzinesses of the nervous traveller.

Mining operations in this country, and over all the Continent, are under the immediate superintendence of government. There is a Berg Collegium, or department of mines, which has the superintendence over all mines, fossils, woods, waters, privileges, weights, furnaces, founderies, or

workings, in any way connected with the metals, and have civil and criminal jurisdiction, even to the extent of life and property, over all matters within the district of their courts. It is a state within the state. The department consists of a president, two mining counsellors, four assessors, a secretary, a prothonotary, an actuary, a chancellor, two clerks, an advocate fiscal, five treasurers and metal assayers, and a chemical laboratory with five, and a mechanical with three, officers; besides these, at the works, as here at Fahlun, there is another little army of officials — a mine captain, a mine master, a mine fiscal, two assistants, &c. Cobalt, alum, sulphur, vitriol, and colour works, come under their superintendence. They must be consulted upon every operation, machine, or procedure, by the owners or capitalists engaged in the work. Their plans must be followed. Reports must be made to them of every thing done or intended, and the books and most secret concerns must be open to them. They are regularly educated in mineralogy, chemistry, mechanics — take degrees at the University before they are allowed to enter as candidates for office in this line, and form a corps with rank and advantages equal to any in the civil or military service. There can be no doubt that such a body of scientific men must be much better qualified than our ordinary uneducated mining overseers or managers; and it has been often proposed to establish in Britain such a corps, regularly educated, and give them by law a similar superintendence over the management and working

of mines. But there may go much science to the making of a pair of boots, if anatomy, the chemical principles of tanning, and all that may be studied, were required of the cobbler. The mines, iron works, and manufactures, subject to all this scientific interference, are practically in a state of lethargy; and, as may be seen by comparing their castings and metal work with ours, in a state of gross imperfection and rudeness. Men who have money do not choose to lay it out according to the judgment, plans, or advice of men having nothing at stake in the success or failure. They choose to be served by their own servants. This interference in all mining and manufacturing concerns by government and its useless functionaries, who must appear to do something for their pay, and are therefore always inspecting, meddling, reporting, and proposing, has prevented English and even native capital from being embarked freely in mines or founderies on the Continent. They are carried on in small shares generally if they are of any importance, and are rather establishments which give a frugal living to a great many unnecessary servants, officers, clerks, and managers — employment to a number of labourers, and interest of money, or a trifle more, to the shareholders — than enterprises in which capital, activity, and economy are at work under the individual energy of two or three partners, deeply interested in pushing every branch of profit. Around every mine or work, a large tract of country, ten or twelve parishes, is thirled to it. The wood in these parishes can only be used for

charcoal, and sold to the Brukspatron. Charcoal must be made and delivered, and all carriage effected by the peasantry within this circle, at certain rates fixed by the Brukspatrons and the Berg-officers, at what they deem necessary for the prosperity of the work, not at what the owners of the wood or horses choose to ask for their property.

What are the results of all this nursing of one branch of industry at the expense of another? of all this interference with property and the free use of capital; and of this army of functionaries and placemen? Sweden raises of copper here at Fahlun 2493 skippund, or 332 tons; and at 11 other mines, 3147 skippund, or 419 tons; in all about 750 tons only. Of silver and lead, which are obtained here and at Sala, there is not enough to pay the expense of raising and smelting, and therefore these need not be mentioned. Of iron, Sweden produces 441,796 skippund, or 58,906 tons. The export in a medium year is 423,400 skippund, or 54,700 tons, of which England took 13,080 tons. The house of Crawshaw and Company, and probably others, makes as much iron in a year as all Sweden. The Swedish iron is of very superior quality to the British, and some of it, as that from the Danemora mines, sells for three or four times the price of British, for the cutlery wares of Sheffield. It seems not well ascertained whether the great superiority of Swedish iron proceeds from the nature of the ore found in the older formations of this country, or from the use of a fuel, charcoal, free from sulphur in the smelting. The demand for it in

England seems diminishing, from British iron and steel being used instead of Swedish. The Swedish copper is not so pure as the British. It contains iron, which renders it unfit for sheathing vessels. Swedish vessels generally are sent to a British port to be coppered.

It is impossible to form any estimate of the number of people engaged in raising and manufacturing iron in Sweden, because a great deal of the work is occasional, or carried on by peasants who chiefly live by husbandry. They raise ore and make charcoal on their own properties, carry it to a privileged furnace, where each has his turn, and make pig iron, which they sell to the brukspatron, who has a privileged work for converting it into rod iron, and who formerly had the right of pre-emption within his own district; but now it is free to these small proprietors to sell their pig iron where they please within the kingdom.

On this extensive mine of Fahlun there are no steam engines. The drainage is carried on by pumps worked by water power, and the machinery is justly admired as among the most perfect in principle and execution of any in Europe. The connections with the moving power are carried on to a very extraordinary distance from it. If time entered into the calculation, as it must do in all individual enterprise, it might be a question whether the obstruction of frost and snow, and the perpetual repairs, do not counterbalance the saving of the more direct and expensive machinery of steam-power. Connected with these works there is a manufactory

of sulphuric acid or vitriol, in which the same plan for evaporation which I have described in the salt work of Tunsberg, on the Norwegian coast, is adopted, but upon a much smaller scale here than in that gigantic work.

Sala, August. — I left Fahlun early, and could only get to this place, a distance of about 70 miles, after midnight. The road execrably bad, at which I was surprised; the Swedish roads in general being proverbially good. The main roads are so; but the cross-country roads where the population is thin cannot be kept up by the Swedish system of statute labour. In Norway, the system succeeds better, because the roads are fewer, and the duty apparently better attended to than now in Sweden. There, at every little distance one sees a post on the road-side, on which is neatly painted the name of the proprietor, and estate, bound to keep up so many ells; where another post is placed, with a similar inscription. On the opposite side stands a post at certain intervals, with a number, indicating the *rode*, or space of the road, under charge of a rode master chosen from among the neighbours, to give notice when repairs are wanted to those in whose piece of road it may be. Here the business seems more carelessly done; a bit of stone, or pin in the ground, only marking out the allotments of road which a parish or hamlet has to support. In Norway each property retains its own bit of road, from 5 to 500 ells, according to its size, and other circumstances; and it is considered a pertinent of the land of some value to have its

road-piece in a state requiring little repairs annually. In Sweden all this was done formerly according to the descriptions of travellers, but appears to be neglected now, probably from the increasing prosperity of its manufactures; because, where there is much cartage of iron and heavy goods, it is evident that no road labour that can be exacted from the land-owners could keep up all the roads for the other classes which their business may require.

The Valleys — Dalarne — is a name applied to this district of country as appropriately as the Highlands with us to a district of an opposite description. The tract from Fahlun to the little town Hedemora is a chain of small valleys, or depressions in the ground, filled in the bottom generally with a little lake, and divided from each other only by gentle elevations, and very frequently by those sandy aases, which I have before mentioned, running across them. The houses and soil improve, and properties apparently are much larger the lower down the country I come. High up in the valley-country there is unusual distress, as the crops for seven years successively have been very scanty all over Sweden, and in the northern districts and those high above the sea level, have been total failures. On the roads, one meets little children of six or seven years of age apparently from their starved and stinted growth, carrying bundles on their backs, and seeking a living for themselves with hunger in their looks. I have met to-day, ten or twelve families of these primitive looking Dalecarlians in their white woollen clothing and

slouched hats — their dress resembling, and perhaps originally copied from, that of the monks and nuns — some with carts conveying the old people and their goods, emigrating to the coast side, to buy or beg their bread, until their crops at home are ripe. These people are not habitually beggars, nor do they ever ask for charity. They are, on the contrary, very ingenious workmen; and many of the peasantry carry about basket-work, garden tools, wooden clocks, and even watches of their own making, for sale; and in this way earn a living for the summer half year, when the crops of their own little patches of land do not suffice to keep them. The restraints upon the exercise of trades and sale of wares press heavily upon these people, whose wandering traffic in summer is absolutely necessary for their subsistence, as their portions of land could not keep them all the year round. It is winked at by the authorities as a matter of necessity, and complained of by the privileged tradesmen and dealers, as inroads upon their rights and means of living. But, in fact, with a climate rendering the keep of servants and workmen very burdensome in winter, in many branches of industry, as in agriculture, in which nothing in winter can be done, a class of people who keep themselves all winter on their own little farm produce, manufacturing all sorts of tools and useful wares, and selling them in summer for a mere living, are more suitable for the present state of Sweden than a total separation of agricultural and manufacturing labour. The manufacturing labourer must eat twelve months in the year, but

can only work six, in many trades here, taking into consideration short daylight, suspension of water-power for machinery by frost, and in open winters, the total want of transport or communications for goods. Watch-making, glove-making, toy-making, lace-making, straw-hat-making by peasants in the same state as these people, bring in more wealth and comfort into Switzerland, some parts of Germany, and some districts of England, than all the regular manufacturing establishments, iron works excepted, produce annually in Sweden.

At Uppbo the road crosses the Dal river, and again at Grodoe, upon floating bridges, or rafts of 200 yards in length, and the breadth of a common road, fixed upon a frame, which is anchored, and floats on the river. It shows how little fall there is of level; for with any considerable current, this ingenious and effective plan would be inapplicable. The water, which is of great depth, splashes up between the spars of the raft at every step the horse takes. The rafts are anchored to the shore on each side by connecting logs of wood united lengthways by iron hooks and eyes, the water being too deep apparently for a good anchorage with chain cables. The houses of the country people begin to show many signs of comfort — muslin window curtains at every window; gardens, hop gardens, and all things around trim and in good order. There is a class, however, not so well lodged, the housemen, or farm servants, on small pieces of land, for which they pay work. I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the condition of

this class — the working agricultural labourers. On leaving the district of the Valleys, the road passes through a part of Westmanland; and at one point I was only seven miles (Swedish) from my old quarters, Westeraas. It is curious how easily one's ideas become adapted to the state of things in a country. I think no more of a distance of seven miles here, where every thing must be taken upon a long measure, than of seven in England, although here it is a distance of fifty English. Westmanland is considered the best farmed district, or one of the best, in Sweden. There is a very great extent of land under beautiful crops of rye and bear. Barley, white pease, wheat, potatoes, flax, hemp, appear, but not as main crops. Oats and sown grass (timothy) are also not equal in proportion, as rotation crops, with the land under rye, or preparing for it. The timothy, to judge from its appearance on the ground, is a better variety than the kind we sow in Scotland. The stalk is not so coarse, nor the head so strong; and it is altogether a finer looking grass. The road winds through these extensive corn fields without any fence; but they are fenced round from the pasture land, or outfield, where the cattle are kept, and from the natural grass meadows which are numerous along these small lakes. The fields are laid out in beds of the breadth of two of our rigs of land, and between each bed there is an open drain sodded on the sides, and admirably well laid out and kept, for draining the ground into the main ditch. The tract seems occupied on a

system of common field, each of these beds, in some places, in others, every five or six of them, being under different crops, and belonging, consequently, to different farms and management; so that for two or three hundred acres under the eye at once, and in a ring fence, there is a village full of proprietors, on some rocky spot. The land even here, although excellent, is much deformed by blocks of rolled stone. The tools are surprisingly poor considering the beauty of the work. The tilth for rye is as fine as in our best farmed districts for wheat. The field is in a neat garden-like state. The land is neatly ribbed for the dung, which is buried by a succeeding scuffling with a mould board across the ribbing; and yet a one-stilted plough, which a man carries home on his shoulder, is their implement. They use two horses without a driver, and yoke, not with chains or traces, but with wooden shafts.

Sala, August. — This little town is well known to the mineralogist as the seat of a silver mine, from which specimens are found in most cabinets. It does not pay the expense of working, but is kept up as part of the Berg, or mining establishment of the country. The produce of silver is about 3150 lbs. yearly, but Fahlun produces some part of this quantity. At Fahlun the ore is galena, from which the silver is extracted.

Upsala, August. — Few towns have such a striking appearance at the distance of five or six English miles, as this: you see three large buildings and none other surmounting the plain. The

one is a vast building — the royal palace — painted orange colour, with black upper works, white bottom, a white streak round the middle, and two projections, with cupola roofs, like paddle-boxes on each side, being a very striking resemblance of the Great Western Steamer — the other, the University House erected by his present Majesty, is a building of a chaste and beautiful style — one of those which are rare in other countries — the third is the cathedral. Brick is a poor material for a cathedral, as all the ornamental arches and characteristic tracery must be left out, or only indicated by dead arches. The doors are in stone here, and there is a belt of marble around the middle, but the rest of the structure is of brick. I determined to begin with the beginning, and made my first sight-seeing visit to Gamle Upsala, or Old Upsala, a hamlet about an hour's walk from the town. Its church, situated close to three ancient tumuli, is considered the most ancient building in Scandinavia, having been a temple of Odin before it was consecrated as a Christian church. It is said by our old historian Henry of Huntingdon, that Pope Gregory the Great recommended that the ancient temples should not be destroyed among the heathen, but only consecrated, and the idols removed. It is possible, therefore, that this may be part of an ancient temple, nor would it be necessarily of older date than many English churches, for it was not before the middle of the 12th century, that the final struggle here between Christianity and the religion of Odin was decided. The three tumuli appear to

me not artificial, but natural features of ground, there being a semicircle of similar natural accumulations of sand and stones from that on which the palace of Upsala stands, to these: some are covered with masses of erratic blocks, others such regular conical-shaped hillocks as these tumuli, but larger. They may be natural, but shaped by art into regular form, and used in connection with the temple. They are historical objects these Upsala höge, at which important national meetings were held, and the temple was the chief seat in Scandinavia of the idolatry of Odin. It is probable that the older stone work is part of the original structure, for the additions and alterations seem all of brick. The stone work consists of a square tower of rough stones of all shapes, without any attempt at squaring them, laying them in courses, or at hewn stone; but with several circular arches of the rough stones, which must have been parts of the original structure. These have been subsequently filled up with brick or stone, to adapt the building for a church, and gavels have apparently been raised subsequently, for getting it roofed in. The whole is of the size of a small country church, nor is there any appearance of stones or rubbish indicating that the building had ever been more extensive. The additions to it indeed are mostly eked out with brick, which proves that there were no stones to be had from the old building. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the country was full of Christian slaves captured by the Vikings in Germany, England, and France, so that to raise such a building could

be no difficult task. In 1123, the Norwegian king Sigurd, and Danish king Magnus Nelssan, agreed upon a crusade against the heathens in Scania, in the south of Sweden. The different provinces became Christian by degrees; and Englishmen, St. David, St. Bothvid, St. Askil, and St. Steven, converted the people, or suffered martyrdom, so late as the 11th and 12th centuries.

Sala is a common termination of local names here. There is Sala, Upsala, Waksala, and so on. It appears very like the Laplandic termination sele, as Lyksele, Asele, in Lapmark, &c. Sele means a smooth piece of water, as between two rapids, or the bight of a lake, and sala appears to be applied in a similar sense to a smooth flat piece of ground between rough aases or spits of land. This plain of Upsala is one of the most striking and magnificent landscapes from its vast extent, unbroken even to the distant horizon by any elevations or interruptions.

The vacation of the University at this season has emptied the town of students and professors. The place, however, has an academical air from its ancient and good-sized cathedral, its public buildings connected with the University, and its botanical gardens. The cawing of the daws—the daw is quite a clerical bird, frequenting cathedrals, castles, and ornamental grounds, but seldom seen about cottages or wild natural scenery — reminds one of our English cathedral towns. I have not seen the bird elsewhere in Sweden or Norway. The town, like Cambridge, seems to subsist prin-

cipally by the University, the population being only 4762 persons; and the students on the books are reckoned generally about 1400. Of professors there are also a goodly number. In order to get at a distinct idea of the scope, and influence on the social condition of the Swedish people, of their universities, I thought it better to go back to some recent year of which there have been reports or states on the subject made out for government, than to trust to the slip-slop information of the persons who conduct strangers about the different sights.

There are two universities in Sweden, Upsala and Lund, in which the teachers may be divided into three classes—professors, adjuncts, or privileged teachers in different sciences, who give instruction privately or publicly in detail to the students, and who are expectants upon vacant professorships, and the masters in modern languages, exercises, and such inferior branches of education. There are four professors in the theological faculty at Upsala, and four at Lund, two in the juridical at the former, and two in the latter; five in the medical and surgical at each; fourteen in the philosophical faculty at Upsala, and ten at Lund. The latter division " comprehends mathematics, chemistry, Greek, physics, natural history, logic, &c. Each faculty confers degrees on written thesis, disputations, and examinations sufficiently strict to make an Upsal degree a highly respectable attainment for men of science; and it is conferred in different terms, denoting the different merits of the candidate

— laudatur adprobatur admittitur. The instruction consists in public or private courses of lectures, as at Edinburgh — for the public lectures the students pay nothing, but pay for private lectures or instruction — and in repetitions, disputations, and written treatises for examination by the professors and adjuncts. Before a student is received at all, he undergoes an examination by the adjuncts, or younger teachers, upon his preliminary knowledge in the lower branches of education taught in the gymnasia or provincial high schools which prepare the youth for entering the University; and if a young lad not duly qualified were sent up to college, the rector and teachers of the gymnasium would get a professional rebuke.

The 47 professorships, and undefined number of adjuncts or teachers, who are also paid by the students, are paid from estates with which Gustavus Adolphus, his father Charles IX., and his daughter Christina, endowed the University, and from the crown tithes of several parishes. At the abolition of popery, the crown seized the tithes payable to monasteries and to the non-effective Catholic clergy, leaving the parish clergy the same portion of them which that class had enjoyed before the Reformation; and Lund is endowed with some of those crown tithes. There are also donations as in England, from private persons of old, for the behoof of the University. The incomes are paid in grain or valued at market prices. The highest salaries are 300 tonde, or barrels of grain, which at an average value of 7¼ dollars per barrel (this year the

price is more than double) is an income of 2325 dollars banco, or 194*l.* sterling. On this income men of great learning and science can live comfortably in this cheap country, and follow the march of scientific knowledge, or in many branches take the lead. The lower teachers, the adjuncts, have 65 barrels of grain, equal to 42*l.* sterling yearly, but they also receive a payment or honorarium from those students who take instruction from them. No person can enter into the clerical, legal, or medical professions without taking his degree; and in the department for mines and other branches of government business, a degree in philosophy is required before a person can study, as a candidate for office, the particular sciences required in these employments. For the military and naval services there are separate academies. The most distinct information I could find upon the state of the higher education of the nation, and upon the classes of the community who enjoy it, is not recent, being for the year 1830; but being formed from authentic returns of an average year, it is applicable to the present time.

	Students on the books.	Students present.	Students in theology.	Law.	Medicine.	Philosophy.	Not fixed on a profession.
Upsala	1453	844	336	325	86	365	341
Lund	632	421	141	105	56	169	161
	2085	1265	477	430	142	534	502

	Sons of nobility.	Sons of clergy.	Sons of citizens.	Sons of peasants.	Sons of proprietors or persons of condition.	Sons of public functionaries.
Upsala	153	334	245	212		310
Lund	26	165	140	143	199	132
	179	499	385	355	199	442

This view is highly honourable to the Swedish nation. Dr. Clarke might have looked at home, at his own university of Cambridge, before he ventured to scoff at the uncouth clothing, and ungentlemanly appearance of the Upsal students. Sweden may be justly proud that the sons of peasants and citizens, or of clergy who are themselves from those classes, form the great majority of the students; and that, of the total male population in 1830, of 1,390,921, one in every 668 enjoyed an university education. One circumstance, however, she must deplore and suffer under — only 179 of the class of nobility, on an average, take a high education. But according to the population returns, there are about 324 young nobles between the ages of 15 and 25 years; so that not much above one half enjoy the best education the country affords; yet all the high functions in the state, and even the offices in which uneducated men are unqualified to act, are filled as matter of right by this uneducated class; and they are, as with us, hereditary legislators, although they should be incapable of reading their own enactments. The cause of this is, that the learned professions and trade are held to be

beneath the dignity of the Swedish noblemen. They are generally sunk in debt and in poverty; and military service, and places about the court, or under government, are the only means of living which their pride and poverty can allow them to bring up their sons for. The inferior schools, or gymnasia, in each province, the military schools, and such institutions, give the kind of cultivation necessary for these professions. They dance well, dress well; have the appearance and manners of gentlemen in an eminent degree; are musical, converse well, and in general know a little of French, German, and English: but with all these accomplishments, they are often ignorant and unprincipled. Much of the immorality of Sweden proceeds, directly or indirectly, from the want of education and conduct in this class. The clerical profession, which the nobles rarely enter into, seems to be the principal object of the students of the class of peasantry, and of the sons of the clergy. The patronage of the church is not entirely in the disposal of the crown. Candidates are appointed by the consistory to preach before the congregation of the vacant cure; and academical distinction, length of standing in holy orders, and of service in the church (years passed in teaching in a school being held as years of service in the church), are considered and allowed a preference. Of three candidates thus proposed, one is approved of by the congregation, and appointed by the crown — excepting when private favour or influence stops, which often happens, the ordinary course. Bishops

are appointed on a similar principle, the clergy voting for those of their body they think best qualified, and the crown appointing one of the three who have the most votes.

In Sweden, there are 2490 congregations; viz. 1147 country parishes, and 129 town charges, with 1214 annexed chapels in the larger parishes. According to the population, this establishment would give an average of about 1188 persons to each congregation: but they are, as in England, very unequally divided and paid, from the different endowments of livings in catholic' times being retained. The whole establishment in Sweden connected with public instruction consists of 3193 clergy, and 3753 sextons or parish clerks, organists, and church servants — the latter a burdensome and apparently not very necessary class; but the sexton has his manse and living, as well as the minister, from the parish. If to these 6946 persons connected with the religious instruction of the people, we add 763 schoolmasters, teachers, and professors, paid by the public, we have 7709 males, whose wives and children amount to 15,114 persons, making a total of 22,823 individuals, or 1 in every 126 of the whole population, living by the teaching the Swedish people their religious and moral duties. There is an old and homely proverb — "Too many cooks spoil the broth."

The clerical establishment costs the congregations 1,780,393 banco dollars; viz. the ministers 1,309,489 dollars, the assistants or chaplains 284,090, and the clerks or church servants

186,814 dollars, in direct payment in tithes, &c.— and a great, but not appreciable amount, in dues or offerings, at marriages, baptisms, funerals, Easter, Christmas, and sacramental occasions. These are very oppressive. The people are, in fact, as superstitious and priest-ridden as in the darkest ages, on many points; as, for instance, on having at burials a spoonful or two of consecrated earth taken up by the priest, and strewed upon the grave, before it is closed. The sexton gravely presents the shovel full or basket full of earth, and the priest as gravely takes a spoon or little spade, like a child's plaything, and dips it into the earth, and sprinkles about a handful of it on the grave; and this piece of mummery is thought absolutely necessary for the peace of the soul of the departed, and is highly paid for. Læstadius mentions, in his work, an instance of a cow being the clergyman's customary payment, and of a poor widow's one only cow being demanded for the performance of this rite, necessary for her husband's salvation. He adds, that the minister's wife, a cousin of his own, took pity on the poor widow, and quietly sent her to the cow-house to lead out one of the minister's own fifty cows, and present it to him as her gift for the performance of the rite, which was forthwith performed, and the cow sent to his cow-house, as an addition to his stock. In many provinces, this payment of a cow, or its value, to the pastor on the death of a peasant, is matter of legal right claimed by the clergy. The payment of these offerings is so much considered a part of religious

duty, that he calls one occasion, at Easter, I think, a cheese fair, rather than a religious meeting; and says that some of the people perform their devotions by proxy, and send their cheeses by a neighbour. These are but trifling isolated circumstances, but as they drop from a zealous missionary merely in the course of his narrative, and not as matters wrong, unusual, or of censure, they throw a light upon the relations of the clergy and the people. In a little pamphlet published in 1832, at Gefle, on a reform in the payment of the church, the total sum which its support costs is estimated at 3,669,800 dollars banco (305,816*l.* sterling) yearly, of which the state pays 1,816,600 dollars, and the congregations pay the rest direct to the clergy. The people pay the whole teinds of catholic times, but partly to the state, and partly direct to the clergy. The building and repairing of houses for the clergyman and the sexton, besides the churches, poor houses, tithe barns, magazines for the military stores of the district, the inns, or *gastgifvaregaard*, the court-houses, prisons, and probably other public buildings, are very heavy burdens on the people.

The church is evidently the most influential body in Sweden: these 3000 clergy, or rather 1276 persons holding full pastoral charges, elect from their own order one of the chambers of the diet. Their political weight I shall endeavour to understand and explain hereafter: their social weight is great. They are the only educated men in country places. Their dues, fees, and rights, however oppressive these appear to us, are sanctioned by

long use and wont, among a peasantry in whom a sense of property is almost extinguished by the exactions upon their time, labour, and produce, for the state and its institutions. It is only what is left to the peasant out of his land, not what he produces, that he views and feels to be his own. The interests of the parties, the tithe payers and the tithe receivers, produce therefore less animosity of feeling than with us; or, properly speaking, none. The clergy also, and the people, appear to me to view Christianity altogether in a different light from that in which we view it. It is a different species of religion here. This is a subject on which I give my impressions with reluctance, from the difficulty of explaining them. The Swedish clergy are, beyond doubt, a highly educated body of theologians. The people also are educated, up to a certain point; which is, that of being able to read, and give proof of understanding the church catechism so well as to be entitled to confirmation, and to be received as communicants. Here the working of the establishment on the people seems to stop. A careful attendance upon all the ceremonials of the church; the saints' days or prayer days, or church festival days; the high mass; the forms of baptisms, churchings, sacraments, funerals; the decorations of the church and altar, and of the priest's robes; the Easter offerings, Christmas offerings, and such observances — appear to stand in the place of all mental exertion or application, on their part, in religious matters, after they have once, if I may use the expression without offence, taken

out their diploma as Christians, by the rite of confirmation, and by receiving their first communion. Religion seems to rest here. Whoever well attends to the course of conversation among our middle and lower classes at the present day will hear a great deal of religious discussion and argument, which, whether to the purpose or not, have the use at least of unfolding and invigorating the mental powers and spirit of inquiry. Here, if by any chance a religious subject is started in the conversation of the same classes, it is — how well, or how ill, pastor A. masses (that is, chants high mass); how solemnly pastor B. performed such a service; how grand this church, or that altar, looked; the sermon you never hear discussed among them at all. The Lutheran church, in fact, is, in the present age, as far behind the religious wants of mankind, as the Catholic church was in the days of Luther. I am aware, that such an opinion must shock many pious and good men, who believe that religion gained by the Reformation every thing that could be desired; but let them look at this country, in which the pure Lutheran church, filled with men unquestionably more highly educated, as a body, than the Scotch, or perhaps any other body of clergy in Europe, flourishes without dissent, and with great civil and political power as a part of the state; and look at the moral condition of the Swedish people.

The following state of literary publication in the same year gives an interesting view of the instruction in Sweden, at a given period; viz. in 1830:

121 works on theology, 11 on philosophy, 20 on philology, 32 on education, 134 belles lettres (including 52 novels), 88 historical, 30 geographical works, 77 on political, 20 on physical, 20 on medical, 35 on economical, 25 on mathematical, 46 on juridical science, 4 on fine arts, 43 miscellaneous, (not including newspapers, of which the number is reckoned 80, and 19 of which are published in Stockholm,) besides 20 other periodicals, of which 15 appear in Stockholm.

The price of books is extremely moderate; a volume of 400 pages generally costs about a banco dollar and a half; but the paper is very bad. There are, however, some publications which would do honour to our press: as, for instance, Nelson's Fauna Suecica, with illuminated plates; the Scandinavian fishes, by Von Wright; the Costumes of Sweden, by Forsell. The numbers of these works cost five banco dollars each, or about one third of what similar works from our press would cost. There is no duty on paper, and only one gratis copy taken for libraries, viz. for the Royal Academy of Science.

Of living Swedish authors, not including men of science, like Berzelius, whose celebrity is of a higher order than that of merely literary production, the only one perhaps who has an European name, and who may be placed by the side of the first writers in other languages, is the historian Geyer. His first volume gives a rapid and masterly sketch of the early history of Sweden; and with the terseness and philosophic spirit in which Tacitus

might have written the history of a barbarous period and people. The second and third parts give the history of Gustavus Vasa and his successors, down to the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and the reign and resignation of his daughter Christina. The adventures, as they may be called, of the first Vasa, his exploits, his manly sincere character, his public and domestic life, his racy speeches to the peasantry in the quaint energetic mode of expression which appears to have belonged to the state of society and language in every country about the time of Queen Elizabeth, are given in a spirit truly Shaksperian. This work, although unintentionally, gives a severe shock to the reigning dynasty, for it paints, with the touch of genius, acts and exploits, sayings and doings, of great men, and striking characters of a native race of kings, in picturesque times, opens up a brilliant national history, which before was but dimly seen through obscure or flimsy foreign works, and brings it home to the breasts of the youth of the country, in a literary production of which the nation may be as proud as of the deeds it relates. I envy this man the feelings with which he must walk past the gigantic bust of Gustavus Vasa, upon the esplanade of the old palace here, from which its frown seems to have scared away the living generation of men, reflecting that he alone has done justice, in unfavourable times, to the two most disinterested, high, and virtuous characters, who have ever appeared in kingly station —Gustavus Vasa, and his grandson Gustavus Adolphus.

August. — At Upsala I shipped myself and my cariole on board of a very neat little steam-boat, the "Uppland," for Stockholm. A branch of the Malare, which at some distant period appears to have covered the whole of the extensive plain around Upsala, is navigable up to the town; although for some miles it is more like an artificial work, or small canal, than a river or lake; and this branch is at one place so narrow as to be crossed by a bridge. Skokloster, a considerable building, the seat of Count Brahe, is seen to advantage from the steam-boat. It would be reckoned in England among the first class of noblemen's mansions; but the grounds around do not correspond with the house. From the want of tenants or agricultural capital in the country, large estates must be in part farmed by the proprietor himself; and the litter of a barn-yard, or patches of potato land, under the windows of a palace, appear out of place. The most interesting object in the day's journey is the ruins of the ancient city of Sigtuna, the Saga city, the capital of Odin himself; or, at least, the chief seat of the power and religion of idolatry in Sweden before Christianity was introduced, and long before Stockholm, or even Upsala, existed. I was surprised to see four towers of ancient buildings still remaining; for I had understood the site of Sigtuna was all that could be found: and remains of edifices of stone are so rare in this country, that ruins of a much later date excite curiosity. Sigtuna was a town in ruins so early as the tenth century; so that the buildings to

which these four square towers and other remains of walls have belonged, must go up probably to the eighth or ninth century. The place being out of the high road, has not been much observed or visited; but now that steam is making old places new, and new old, to the traveller, ruins which are coeval with the religion of Odin, and older than any edifices connected with Christianity in the North, deserve the careful examination of the antiquarian. The real state of the arts, and the degree of civilisation, among the followers of Odin, before their conversion to Christianity, are little known, and appear to be under-rated by historians. Their commerce, even with distant countries, was considerable. The very great quantities of Arabic and Greek coins found in Scandinavia, prove an active intercourse with the East. The gold ornaments, cups, arms, and utensils found in tumuli in these northern countries, show a wonderful perfection of workmanship; and if these are of eastern origin, still the importing them, the obtaining them either by purchase or piracy, proves a great advance in still more important arts than the working in gold or silver. They must have been merchants, ship-builders, navigators, masters of all the main arts of civilised life, to have crossed the seas to get at them in any way. The obscure traditionary accounts of the former commercial greatness of Novogorod, of a caravan trade with the East, and a diffusion from that city of the silks and spiceries of the East, by the way of Wisby, speak of a course of trade which preceded the rise

of the Hanstowns, and existed prior to the introduction of Christianity in the north. The remains of buildings belonging to a period of which we know so little, and which had certainly made greater advances in the arts of civilised life than historians admit, are interesting. Sigtuna has still the privileges of a town, but has only 372 inhabitants, who live by manufacturing coarse pottery, the most ancient of manufactures in cities, and one which seems the last to quit its site.

CHAPTER VII.

DISCONTENT IN STOCKHOLM. — TUMULT. — SPIRIT OF THE GOVERNMENT. — OF THE PEOPLE. — UNFOUNDED CALUMNIES AGAINST THE CHARACTER OF THE MONARCH. — EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS. — TREATY WITH RUSSIA. — LAND IN SWEDEN. — HEMMANS. — INSOKEN UTSOKEN. — SATERI. — PRIVILEGES. — PROPORTIONS OF TAXES PAID BY DIFFERENT CLASSES. — AGRICULTURAL POPULATION. — MANUFACTURING AND TOWN POPULATION. — PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES. — STATISTICAL TABLE COMMISSION. — GENERAL DIFFUSION OF EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. — WHY WITHOUT INFLUENCE ON THE MORAL CONDITION OF SWEDEN. — WANT OF FREE USE OF PROPERTY. — HOUSE SERVANTS IN HUSBANDRY. — MARRIED SERVANTS IN HUSBANDRY. — STATES OF THEIR INCOME. — PEASANTRY. — QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE DIET. — PEOPLE OF CONDITION, NUMBERS, PROPERTY. — NOT REPRESENTED. — CLERGY. — NOBILITY. — QUALIFICATIONS. — NUMBERS. — PRIVILEGES. — POVERTY. — POWER. — SWEDISH DIET. — ANALYSIS OF THE DIET. — CONSTITUTION. — POWER OF REVISAL. — DEFECTS. — ADMINISTRATION OF LAW. — HERED COURTS. — JURY. — LAGMANS'S COURTS. — HOF COURTS. — FAULT OF THE COURTS. — USELESS FUNCTIONARIES. — FALSE APPEARANCES OF IMPORTANCE IN THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT.

Stockholm, August. — I HAVE been much surprised since my arrival, at the sudden change which has taken place during the few weeks that I have been in the North, in the spirit of this versatile people. I left them talking and laughing about the ultra precautions which their government was taking against popular commotion, because a few boys had broken the windows of a public functionary connected with the prosecution, and con-

demnation to a punishment too harsh in a civilised age, of a popular writer. Government has almost created the commotion it wished to prevent. The respectable citizens, who cared nothing for M. Crusenstolpe or his writings, and had scarcely heard of a few windows being broken in a remote street by a dozen or two of idle boys, have been placed under military law, their streets patrolled by cavalry, some persons killed, several wounded, and many arrested and imprisoned while going about their lawful business at ordinary hours. They have taken umbrage at these demonstrations of governing with a power beyond the law, under circumstances which the common police of the city, and the regular application of the laws, were adequate to meet. The governor of Stockholm, Baron Sprengporten, was abruptly dismissed from his office, because he dissuaded the King, when his opinion was asked, from calling in military aid without necessity. The most respectable of the citizens showed their approbation of his conduct by escorting him on his retirement to his country seat, and unanimously voting addresses to him. The popular liberal newspapers, the Aftonblad, the Allahanda, and the Freya, were suppressed for their observations on this unnecessary recourse to military power; but they re-appeared immediately with redoubled vigour, under a trifling change of title. 'The New Freya,' instead of 'The Freya,' the 'Twenty-fifth' instead of the 'Twenty-fourth' Aftonblad. The press in Sweden can only be irritated by the censorship, not stifled. The right

to publish is part of the ground law of the constitution; and the leaders of the periodical literature are men of an ability and influence with which government seems totally unable to cope. The people have caught a discontent which did not exist before, from this imprudent interference with military. The military themselves are highly discontented at being called in so unnecessarily to occupy and do duty in the city, at a season when the state of the hay-crop and the rye-sowing make it ruinous for the soldiers who live by their little farms to be taken from their homes; and oppressive on the country depending on their labour or assistance. It is whispered that the landowners of the province of Nerike positively refused to send in the military horses from the farm work — each farm of a certain extent has to furnish a cavalry horse, which is used like the other farm horses, when not called out on service — and that the regiment of Upland mutinied on the march. The only intelligible explanation of all this certainly unnecessary fuss is, that the government wished to make a demonstration of power in the eyes of the Russian princes and their suite, and to make a grand display of the popular enthusiasm in its favour, on the slightest appearance of danger or alarm; and the *coup* failed; the people remained very alarmingly quiet at the pretended danger to the present order of things. In the midst of this half ridiculous, half serious business, his Majesty had the misfortune to be thrown from his horse, and to dislocate his collar-bone. "A few weeks ago," said a

Swedish gentleman to me, "addresses of condolence would have been pouring in from all quarters on such an event, and now not the slightest notice is taken of it by any individual or corporation; even the clergy are dumb!" I observed this evening, on the bridge, that when the royal carriage, with her Majesty the Queen was passing, not an individual but the military and foreigners took off their hats; and when I was last here, I was struck with the *empressement* of all classes to show that mark of respect even from a great distance. These are bad signs. A weak government of alarmists has raised up the very danger it was afraid of; has shown distrust of, and consequently lost the confidence of, the only power it should have trusted to, the Swedish nation; and has thrown itself upon military support, with no real military power distinct from the people, except a regiment or two of enlisted guards, to support it. It has contrived within these six weeks to effect, by its infatuated measures, a very serious and alarming change in the spirit of the people; and for the sake of prosecuting an obscure expression of very doubtful illegality in a pamphlet of the day, which nobody thought of or read the next day, has cast away the well-earned popularity of an useful reign at the eleventh hour. These are the results of ruling through an uneducated class of nobility, who can only see persons, not principles or consequences. The spirit of the Swedish government during this reign has been altogether personal. Its history has been a succession of collisions with individuals holding opposition principles, and who being the suffering party carry the public sympathy

with them. A man in any way depending upon court favour, who is known, or suspected, to be of liberal principles, is kept down and discountenanced, and if independent of it, is placed, by this spirit of personality, in the position of being at variance with his sovereign as with a private man. This is not the true spirit of kingly government. When the last diet, as an instance of the kind of spirit I allude to, was dissolved, His Majesty, according to usage, gave a dinner to the different chambers. One respectable iron master, Mr. Petre, a deputy in the chamber of burgesses, representing, I believe, the considerable town of Gefle, who had distinguished himself during the session as an eloquent clear headed speaker, sifting and exposing the measures of government, was turned back by the express orders of His Majesty, at the moment he was entering the door of the place of entertainment upon the invitation given to the deputies of his chamber. Those who had not already entered, instantly turned back with him. The *biensćances* of society take a high place in the estimation of this people. A breach of good manners is looked upon with at least as much dislike as a breach of morals. This unnecessary and unmannerly affront put upon a man of such high personal character was taken up by the class of burgesses — fêtes were given, and addresses presented, to Mr. Petre, by the towns through which he passed, and by that which he represented. This unwise indication of private spleen and personal feeling against public men opposing fairly and not factiously the administration

of the day, shook to its foundation the popularity of His Majesty with the middle class. It placed the sovereign in personal variance with individuals; and, in comparison of talent, individually; which is a false position for majesty to descend to.

Another circumstance producing great dissatisfaction among the citizens of Stockholm is, that His Majesty does not pay his debts when due. If a tradesman delivers candles, groceries, or such articles for the palace, and sends in his account, should it even be for the trifling amount of sixty dollars, he must wait a year for payment, and take it then in monthly instalments, wasting a day every month in dancing attendance, and often in vain, for his money. In a city supported mainly by the expenditure of the court, this evil deranges the affairs of many tradesmen dealing directly with it; and indirectly, by the example among a poor and thoughtless nobility, the whole business of the country is materially affected by the want of punctuality of all classes in their payments. Dealers never can depend upon their receipts to meet their wants. In the country, upon the large estates which the king not very wisely, perhaps, has purchased from different ruined nobles, and holds as his private fortune independently of the royal domains or crown property, not only private accounts but the public taxes are brought to payment by process of law and *impoinding* against His Majesty. This strange fact admits of no doubt. When I observed that it might proceed from want of arrangement, or some fault of the functionaries charged with the duty, and that the King, ignorant of the language, could not remedy,

and probably never had heard of this system of non-payment, I was told it was adopted by His Majesty's express command. I observed, that if so, His Majesty probably had not the funds to pay with at the time payments were demanded, and, therefore, very properly accommodated each claimant with a proportion of his money at stated times; but on this point I was met at all hands with the exclamation, "Why, His Majesty is immensely rich." Now of this foreigners are as able to judge as Swedes. His Majesty was born in 1764, of parents in the middle class of life, from whom he could inherit no fortune. He went to the East Indies in a regiment of marines, in which, as a private, a non-commissioned officer, or subaltern, which was the highest rank he attained before the Revolution, he certainly could neither make nor save money. In no service can the military man, be his rank what it may, acquire wealth secretly, and at the same time honourably. His earnings are known to all. During the first years of the revolutionary war, rapacious commissaries of the French armies levied, no doubt, contributions and *dons* from cities, corporate bodies, churches, monasteries, and even from private persons, and were accused of pocketing large sums thus levied, and of sharing the plunder with commanders who winked at these robberies under the mask of authority. It was openly alleged, in the newspapers of those days, that there was a partnership, in the extortion and spoil, between the French generals and these commissaries. But, if true, this applied only to inferior

and now forgotten persons, whom accident, not merit or service, had raised to the head of the banditti-troops of the first revolutionary campaigns. It did not apply to such men as General Bernadotte, who, like Wellington, Blucher, and all the commanders of other armies, received a daily pay and allowance, as well known as that of the common soldier in their armies, and had no participation in unmilitary gains or extortions. This class of high-minded military men could in no rank or service acquire wealth; but, on the contrary, were notoriously ruined in their private circumstances, by the expenses incident to their military station, and would have been in want, at the conclusion of the war, but for public grants of money from the governments they served, and which are known to all, and are far from immense wealth. In 1797, General Bernadotte married Mademoiselle Clery, daughter of an eminent French merchant; but he would be an eminent French merchant indeed, who could leave thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling to each of his daughters; and that sum would be far from immense wealth that could purchase a kingdom. It says little for the propriety of feeling, or just views of conduct and character, among this people, that they, universally, and without foundation or reflection, talk of a wealth belonging to their sovereign as a private individual, independent of his royal revenues, which, if real, and not merely existing in their own imaginations, would reduce the high and honourable character of their king from that class of military commanders in which the great and pure alone will be admitted, by the

future historians of our age, to that of the ruffians in command of the revolutionary forces at the early period of the war, who plundered, and peculated, and amassed fortunes. In the whole course of his military or civil life, there is no way in which His Majesty could have acquired the wealth which his subjects so inconsiderately talk of. His Majesty must, no doubt, have had great command of money on his first arrival in Sweden, and must have borrowed large sums to make those purchases of estates, and those gifts and loans to individuals, which have been considered indications of immense wealth; and by the unreflecting classes of Swedes, who never think of paying their own debts, the honourable economy and necessary arrangement of payments adopted under these circumstances by the monarch, are stigmatised as avarice. Every thing seems turned to gall at present in the minds of the Swedish people, and the most laudable acts of His Majesty are censured; and while in Norway the good in any public measure is always attributed to the King, and the evil to his ministers, here the mode of judging of public measures is reversed — the consequence, probably, of the King's ministers not being so constitutionally responsible to the nation. Among the public measures of the day highly censured, is a royal edict just issued for the emancipation of the Jews; that is, for giving those born in Sweden the rights of other subjects, and those coming to the country the same rights or facilities as other aliens to acquire privileges to trade. The measure in itself is liberal and good; but the man-

ner of passing it, without reference to the diet or legislature, is, no doubt, bad and unconstitutional, and must produce a breach between the King and the next diet, which will probably not confirm the measure. To give a royal edict the effect of law, at a moment when the people are complaining that law has been unnecessarily set aside, and military power resorted to, seems an act of insanity or drunken folly, rather than of political wisdom. The whole body of the Jewish people in Sweden in 1825 was but 531 males and 535 females, and cannot exceed two thousand individuals at present. No great body of people, therefore, are suffering injustice from the want of this emancipation; and in what regards trade and industry, the Swedes themselves are, in fact, not emancipated, but are subject to all kinds of disabilities and restraints under the corporation and privilege system. It is but extending and confirming this system, and giving a pledge of the disposition of government to continue it, to give a new body of people the facility to enter into it, and partake of its unjust advantages. These considerations make the measure unpopular with the liberal. The enlightened of the landed interest also, knowing that in Poland the Jews have become a kind of middle men, to whom the nobility let, for a term of years, their estates, that is to say, their peasantry, to squeeze and make out of them the repayment of money advanced, see with dislike an opening to a similar system between their own necessitous and extravagant nobility and the Jewish community. The mercantile class are, with reason, jealous of the superior talent of the Jew for

the kind of barter in which much of the internal trade of this country consists. The common people, and the clergy in general, are too little advanced beyond the state of Catholicism at the period of the Reformation, to adopt toleration, or to look on Jews with any feeling but dislike. To venture upon a measure of doubtful policy, unpopular with such large classes, not urgently called for, and without the constitutional reference to the diet, which will probably rescind it, and at a moment, too, when great distrust and great discontent exists at the appearance of governing without the law, is not the wisdom of sober advisers, but a rash vapouring attempt at display and stage-effect before the world, by weak and inebriated heads. The late commercial treaty with Russia, made public at this time, is judged of in the same bitter spirit of detraction. It gives the same rights in the ports of each country to the vessels of the other, which native shipping enjoy in respect of duties on goods and vessels. But the reciprocity, say the Swedes, is all on one side. No Swedish exports go to Finland, or to any port of Russia, while Finland has a great export to Sweden; which now is secured to Finland or Russian vessels, on the same footing as if they were native Swedish vessels. I can see no good ground for this objection to the treaty. It is notorious that Sweden does not feed her own capital, and probably never can do so under her own restrictive system of domestic trade; and Swedish vessels cannot sail so cheaply as those of Finland, and do not, in fact, carry on the trade between Sweden and Finland. The treaty is, therefore,

merely securing a state of things already existing, and places no impediment in the way of Swedish industry and capital to alter that state. In this treaty it is remarkable, that among the titles of His Majesty the Emperor, the term Héritier de Norwege, which, it seems, is one of the old imperial titles, is changed to *Successeur* de Norwege. This change is not of the nature of an omission, or unintentional change of one term for another by clerical oversight or error; for in the Swedish ratification the old title of Héritier de Norwege is retained. Being intentional, it must have a meaning.* The title of Héritier de Nōrwege is derived from the intermarriages of the Dukes of Holstein-Schlesvig into the imperial family of Russia.

The whole arable land of Sweden is divided into 65,596 hemmans: but the word hemman signifies merely an estate — a homestead — and gives no idea of the extent or value of the land. There are hemmans in the same parish almost twenty-five times larger and more valuable than others. It is a fiscal division only, for the purpose of levying the land tax upon different classes of estates according to ancient assessments. Taxation in early times was personal; or, at least, partly on the supposed ability, or other circumstances, of the possessor of the land, and partly on the value. The first great step towards free institutions and civil rights in Europe was converting personal taxation into

* This alteration does not appear in the treaty itself, but in the ratification of it, signed by the Emperor Nicholas, at Toplitz, July 23. 1838. The titles of Lord of Armenia and Georgia are assumed in the same act.

territorial, or taxation upon value and extent of property; and countries are free at present in proportion to their approximation to this first principle in civil rights, that property only is a subject for assessment. Doomsday-book, which some of our historians consider as a tyrannical valuation of the country by the Conqueror for the purpose of oppressively taxing his Saxon subjects, was, in reality, a wonderfully perfect and enlightened step for that age, to equalise all assessments, and services or payments to the state, according to value, and from which all our subsequent progress in free institutions must be dated. The principle of personal, or mixed, taxation runs through the whole Swedish system, and is the main cause why the husbandry of the country can never improve, nor the people ever be free. A whole hemman of land is considered to be such a portion of arable ground as would let for 40 silver dollars, or about 9*l.* sterling, and pays taxes and local burdens accordingly. But the old hemmans cannot be revalued; for the whole class of nobility and of peasantry would oppose in the diet a revaluation which would throw additional burden upon their old lands. New land taken into cultivation is consequently much more heavily burdened than the old and better land. In every country the best quality of land is the first taken into cultivation. A hemman of such land is necessarily of far better quality, and from the inferior value of agricultural produce in the early age when it was rated as a hemman, of far greater extent, than land subsequently taken

into cultivation; besides this cause of unequal taxation on estates or hemmans of the same class, feudal privilege has been at work for ages, in creating exemptions from taxes and local contributions for the estates of the nobility, and the lands held or derived from them. Hemmans are divided into a great number of classes, according to these exemptions. There are sateri hemmans, which are the *seats*, or estates, of the nobles, exempt from almost all public taxes or local duties: there are insoken and utsoken, and ra and rors hemmans, which are those originally within the pale of the nobleman's estate of old, and held of it for a payment of money, corn, or services, and which are likewise exempt from taxes and local burdens, in certain proportions to the rights of the parent domain: there are fralse hemmans, also exempt in part; and, thirdly, there are crown hemmans, and crown-duty hemmans, which pay the heaviest burdens, and have no privilege of exemption at all; having been originally crown lands, feued out, or sold to peasants not entitled by birth to any privilege. In the feudal countries, the immediate vassal of the crown, whether peasant or noble, has under the civil law a better holding, and higher privilege or rights, in respect of his land, than the vassal of a vassal, or proprietor holding of a nobleman or subject; but such has been the power of the nobility in Sweden in their half Asiatic state of society, into which some of the feudal institutions only were adopted by them in the middle ages, that they communicated some of their own privileges to their

own vassals. Until 1809, none but noblemen could become purchasers of noble or privileged sateri. The privileges being different for different classes of estates and localities, there is a science by itself, of which we are happily ignorant in Britain, but on which there are regular lectures delivered in all foreign universities — called Kammeralwissenschaft in Germany, and Kammervidenskap here — which treats of the various classifications, privileges, and laws affecting estates, and which have arisen from the various personal rights of the first proprietors, which have never been levelled to one rule for all property enjoying the protection of the state. To understand such a complicated system is far beyond the traveller's range of subject; but I attempted to get some idea of the different proportions of taxation borne by the different classes of estates, and also the numbers of the estates in the different classes, dividing their numerous differences into three great classes — those of highest privilege and exemption — those of partial — and those of no exemption. The first class pay nearly 225 per cent. less of taxes and local burdens; and the second class from 54 to 62 per cent. less than the third class, or unprivileged estates. The number of sateri (seats), or noble estates enjoying the highest exemptions, is 3462; of fralse, insoken, utsoken, ra, rors, and other denominations of lands partaking more or less of exemptions, 17,929; and of estates subject to all taxes and burdens, 44,205. The latter have the satisfaction of paying, in fact, the taxes and onera for the 21,391 noble or half

noble estates, or for about one half of their own number. Of this class of landed proprietors, there are few in the kingdom, according to one statistical writer, who do not pay more than one half of the value of their whole crop in taxes and local assessments: another estimates it at one third of the whole year's production of the land. As the one of those well-informed authorities means one half of the value of the grain crops, and the other, one third of the value of these, and also of the dairy grass, and all other farm products, the discrepancy in their estimates is more apparent than real. The amount of taxes raised is, according to the report of 1832, the sum of 20,247,339 dollars banco, or 1,687,278*l.* sterling. The amount of the ground capital of the country is reckoned to be 378,644,919 dollars banco, or 31,553,743*l.* sterling. The amount of yearly production, valuing agricultural produce, mines, fisheries, manufactures, and all branches, is reckoned by Forsell at 83 millions of dollars, but call it 100 millions. The amount of taxation to the state alone is above one fifth of the estimated yearly production, and equal to about $\frac{1}{19}$th of the ground capital. In England, in 1813, when our taxation was heaviest, it amounted, according to Colquhoun, to $\frac{1}{10}$th of the yearly production, and was equal to $\frac{1}{56}$th only of the ground capital of the country. Taking the tables published by Forsell, and deducting the value of mills, mines, saw-works, iron-works, and all other subjects, the valuation taken for land tax of the land alone gives a total value for it of 284,255,968 dollars banco, or 23,687,997*l.* — which pays in direct land tax

11,895,347 dollars banco, or 991,279*l.*; and proportioning the amount of indirect taxes upon the articles of consumption according to the population, the agricultural class pays altogether about 16,000,000 of dollars to the state. The whole yearly produce of the land is well ascertained by the yearly returns of the local authorities; and valuing each kind of grain and other produce at the average price of the last five years, the amount is 45,000,000 of banco dollars or 3,750,000*l.*, so that the agricultural class in this view pays nearly one third of their yearly production to the state in direct tax, and valuing their indirect taxes, a great deal more. And this heavy, general average of taxation is so unjustly divided, that nearly one half of the lands pay from 54 per cent. to 225 per cent. more than the other half of the lands. In looking into the items of the enormous load of taxes and burdens on the peasantry of this country, I observe, that besides the direct tax to the state, the burden of supporting the clergy, and such assessments as are usual in other countries, there are a great number of local contributions peculiar to Sweden. In an account of the yearly burdens upon one whole hemman of land, occupied by six inhabitants — it is seldom that one peasant holds a whole hemman in his own occupation — the value of all the taxes paid from the hemman is reckoned at 202 dollars banco. Of this the standing ordinary taxes paid to the state, including the crown tithe, 18 dollars, amount to 87 dollars; the payment to the clergyman 42; support of the church, manse, tithe barn, parish

meeting, and sexton's houses, 6 dollars; the poor rate is put down at 6 dollars; road-work at 23 dollars; posting-work with travellers at 12⅔ dollars. There is a list besides of twenty-one items of parish salaries or burdens; among which are salaries to the midwife, vaccinator, district doctor, and parish writer; and these are not voluntary or subscription payments, but functionaries appointed by government, and settled in each parish, draw these taxes in salary. There is besides, support of a prison, and daily pay to the representative in the diet.

According to the best information I could get, the medium value of a hemman of land is 4200 dollars, or 350*l.*; the medium extent of arable land 27 tunlands, or about 33 acres; and the medium number of persons living on it 28, which gives the number employed, or supported by husbandry, 1,836,688 persons. The number of peasants, who are proprietors of the land they live on, is reckoned 147,971, and of those on land not their own, 1,688,717. Of labourers in husbandry, there are 470,091 holding land and houses under proprietors, and working daily, or at certain seasons, in payment of rent, and 277,466 servants in husbandry living in the house with their employers. The total number supported by, or employed in, trade, mines, manufactures, including seamen, is reckoned 70,000, or with their wives and children, 160,000 persons. The whole number supported by the public is, of clerical functionaries, including schoolmasters, and church servants, as well as priests, 7709; of civil functionaries, 9485; of military, 48,930; and the wives

and children are reckoned about 103,800 persons, making a total of 170,000 persons nearly, living by public function; or about 6 per cent. more than the whole population living by trade and manufactures.

It is to be observed that many of these statements, although proceeding from the most eminent and best informed persons in Swedish statistics, can, from the very nature of the subjects, only be considered as approximations, or proportions of parts to a whole, not as exact accounts; but they approach nearer to exactness, and have less of mere unsupported guess in them, than similar statistical returns from other countries. In Sweden, there is a department of government for drawing up statistical tables, called the table department. Tables on every point respecting the population, property, crops, capital, in short, embracing every matter of statistical interest either to government or to the political economist, are made out in each parish by the clergyman and the parish writer — a distinct functionary from the parish clerk or sexton; and a table commission at Stockholm is constantly employed in generalising these local returns, and reducing them to tables. This establishment has existed in Sweden since 1748; but within this century it has attained greater correctness, and a wider sweep of subjects, than any similar institution in other countries. It could only attain such perfection in a population ridden upon by priests and functionaries, until no sense of property is left in them. In any other country, if a public functionary were to ask how much you sow, how much

you reap, what is your capital, what your profits, the inquirer and his commission would be turned out of doors for his impertinence. It is difficult with us to get even ordinary returns of the numbers in a family, and still more of the ages. It is thought, and perhaps very wisely, by our common people, that it is an impertinent intrusion or interference in their family matters, with which government has nothing to do, and ought to have no access to; and that if they open their doors to government inquirers in such concerns, it might lead to a system of intermeddling and inquisition. Here, people are trained to obedience, and in that class, to consider nothing their own but what is left to them by the clergy and government, to whom, in the first place, their labour, time, and property must belong.

A country in this state wants the very foundation upon which civil liberty must stand — a sense of independence and property among the people. In the present social condition of this people, a free constitution or liberal institutions would have no basis to rest upon, no support below; and powerful bodies of privileged classes, viz. nobles and proprietors of privileged lands, clergy, public functionaries, and corporation-men, have a direct interest in things as they are, and in resisting with their constitutional and predominant weight in the legislature, every improvement. It is almost ridiculous to hear of the constitutional rights and liberties of a people, whose time, labour, and property, are not their own, in the sense in which these are enjoyed by free people; but are at the disposal, and for the

benefit of classes, corporations, and public functionaries. The constitution and the civil rights of the nation mean here the right of corporate bodies to meet in a legislative assembly without reference to the mass of the community, on whom they prey.

It is a discouraging and humiliating reflection, that the general diffusion of education and religious knowledge, which so many good and enlightened men are so anxiously wishing and striving for among us, has been attained, perhaps, to the very utmost practicable extent in this country, in which all can read, almost all write, and no individual is without religious instruction, and a competent knowledge of the truths of Christianity — and yet with such unsatisfactory results on the moral and civil condition of the people. This enigma strikes the traveller in every view of the present condition, civil, political, or economical, of the Swedish nation: how is it to be solved? The very wide diffusion of reading, writing, and religious instruction, cannot be questioned. The numerous clergy, and the obligation by law on every adult person to be able to read the Scriptures, and give proof of Christian knowledge, before being admitted to the communion table, and of having taken the communion before being admitted to marry, or exercise any act of majority, assure us, that reading and the principles of religion are taught to every individual: we have, besides, the testimony of statistical writers to the fact, that not one person in 1000 of the adult population is unable to read; and the 80 newspapers, the 20 periodical publications, the booksellers' shops in

such petty towns, as with us, either in England or Scotland, would certainly not afford a living in that line, place beyond all doubt the fact, that the Swedes are an educated and reading people. As little can we doubt the statistical returns, which establish the great amount of crime in this nation. It appears to me, that the solution of this enigma must be looked for in the great pressure of the upper privileged classes upon the time, labour, and property of the lower; in the servile condition, in a word, of the mass of the population. Their low civil condition — their state of restriction and pupillage, in all that relates to the free use and enjoyment of their industry and property — works out a low moral condition, which even religious knowledge and education cannot elevate. If this suggestion be correct, it brings out, in a clear light, the true value of reform in civil institutions, and of giving every man in a community his just and natural political rights, where these have been invaded and appropriated by fictitious divisions, classes, and social arrangements of darker ages, as the only foundations for a truly religious and moral condition of society: it shows the intimate connection between morals and politics, and that the principles which are called liberal or radical are closely united with the cause of religion and morality, and their influences upon human conduct; and that the many pious and good men, who boast themselves conservative in all existing establishments, and opposed to the principle of reform, are involved in a contradiction, are upholding social

arrangements, which render the diffusion of knowledge and religion among mankind altogether nugatory. It is clearly no defect in the physical condition of the Swedish people that produces this extraordinary moral state. It is a defect in their civil and political condition. Compared to the cottar or labourer in Scotland, the Swedish peasant is better provided with physical comforts: he is far better lodged, better fed, his access to fuel and food better in general; but his property can scarcely be called his own: he has it nominally, and has it not really, for it is withdrawn from him by exactions, of so old standing, and so involved with rights of great classes in the community, that, like our tithes, they have become a property. He has no freedom of mind, no power of dissent in religious opinion from the established church; because, although toleration nominally exists, a man not baptized, confirmed, and instructed by the clergyman of the establishment, could not communicate in the established church, and could not marry, or hold office, or exercise any act of majority as a citizen; would, in short, be an outlaw: he has no freedom of action; for the system of passports, as it existed in France after the conscription was established, as a necessary branch of that system for preventing the escape of conscripts, is, together with the conscription, established over Sweden in full force.

The great body of the Swedish population, more than four fifths, live by agriculture. What are the rights, civil and political, of this body? Beginning with the lowest grade, the servants in husbandry,

we find them subject to a law which is opposed to all feeling of personal rights. They are subject to corporal chastisement from their masters for negligence in their duty; and this house discipline is sanctioned by law (5 cap. 14 *Handels Balk*) of the present reign. It reduces this class to the state of serfs, who may be cudgelled at pleasure. The negligence thus punishable is not defined, but is left to the judgment of the master, who may lawfully lay hands on, and beat his servant, provided he does not kill or maim him, with impunity. The servant may change his service at the end of six months, on giving due warning, but has no right of action against the master for personal maltreatment; and during his time of service has no more rights than a slave. This state of the law indicates a raw social condition. It is acted upon not only by the vulgar, or the peasantry, but by the higher, and even the educated, or it influences their bearing towards the lower class. I saw lately a case in the newspapers of a clergyman, a man of literature, secretary to some learned society, accused of inflicting an indecent flagellation upon a young woman, one of his flock, for being pregnant with an illegitimate child. The reverend gentleman's defence was, that a master of a family is entitled by law to inflict corporal chastisement upon offending servants; and, *à fortiori*, he, the pastor, was entitled to chastise one of his erring flock. The liberal press was too well informed of the similar case of a Jesuit, which Voltaire exposed, to suffer this defence to pass unnoticed; but to venture to state such a defence to the public indicates a public so rude, and

the personal rights of the lower class of the people so little regarded, that it might be stated and received; and indicates that, setting aside the indecency of the transaction, and the want of a hiring as master and servant, it would have been but an ordinary lawful beating. The civil rights of this, the lowest and most numerous class of every community, seem but low — little higher than those of the serf. Their self-respect, and, consequently, their moral state, cannot be high.

The next grade are the married servants in husbandry, having houses and land, for which they pay labour as rent. It is difficult to estimate the condition of this class, because, according to the size of their possessions, they may pay a money or grain rent, besides so many days' labour, weekly or yearly, or may receive a low rate of wages, along with a house and piece of land, for daily labour. On the same farm I found *torpare*, as this class of cottar servants are called, who had paid fifty dollars banco for a lease of fifty years, had built their own houses, and cleared and brought into cultivation their own land, the extent sufficient to support a family, and paid fifty days' work yearly as rent; and torpare who gave the work every day, one man on the main farm, and received various articles in wages, and a little money. The rate of wages for country labour is from 16 skillings banco to one dollar riksgald, or from 6 pence to 13 pence daily; but where much is paid in kind, in meal, land, milk, &c. this gives no real information, even in Scotland, of the condition and way of living of the

mass of the agricultural labourers, I shall, therefore, although it may be tedious to most readers, translate and value in English the details of a torpare family's living. A man, wife, and three children, in the middle of Sweden, the wife occupied with the children and housekeeping, so as to earn nothing by outdoor labour, have an income of 146⅔ dollars banco, or 12*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* sterling, consisting in the following items: —

2½ barrels rye,	valued at	16⅔	dollars banco,	or	£1	7	10
1 barrel big.	—	5⅓	—	or	0	8	10
½ barrel peas	—	3⅓	—	or	0	5	7
½ barrel malt	—	2⅔	—	or	0	4	5
2 barrels potatoes	—	2	—	or	0	3	4
20 lbs. salt	—	⅔	—	or	0	1	2
80 lbs. herrings	—	2⅓	—	or	0	3	11
20 lbs. butter	—	4⅓	—	or	0	7	3
3 lbs. hops	—	1	—	or	0	1	8
20 lbs. pork	—	1½	—	or	0	2	6
20 lbs. bacon	—	3	—	or	0	5	0
½ of a cow or ox	—	10	—	or	0	16	8
1 stoup sweet milk daily	—	10⅓	—	or	0	16	10
1 stoup sour milk in summer	—	4⅓	—	or	0	7	
12 kans, or 8 gallons, brandy	—	5⅓	—	or	0	8	7
House rent and fuel	—	16⅔	—	or	1	7	10
Taxes, contributions	—	13	—	or	1	1	8
Wages „	—	44	—	or	3	13	4
		146⅔			£12	4	8

This amounts to 29 dollars 32 skillings yearly for the support of each individual in a family, or 2*l.* 8*s.* 11¼*d.* sterling. The following is a similar state of a torpare's living and income upon an estate ten miles from Stockholm: —

½ barrel wheat, valued at		2⅔ dollars banco,		or	£0	4	3
4 barrels rye	—	24	—	or	2	0	0
2 barrels big	—	9	—	or	0	15	0
2 barrels potatoes	—	2	—	or	0	3	4
10 heads of cabbages	—	⅔	—	or	0	1	1
½ barrel herrings	—	4	—	or	0	6	8
20 lbs. salt	—	1⅓	—	or	0	1	2
40 lbs. meat	—	2	—	or	0	3	4
20 lbs. bacon	—	2⅔	—	or	0	4	5
1 lb. hops	—	⅓	—	or	0	0	7
2 pair of shoes	—	3⅓	—	or	0	5	7
Sweet milk	—	10	—	or	0	16	8
Sundries	—	5	—	or	0	8	4
Fuel, rent, taxes	—	25	—	or	2	1	8
Wages	—	33⅓	—	or	2	15	7
		123			£10	7	8

which among five persons in family is 24 dollars 29 skillings, or 2*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* for each per annum. A torpare family on the same estate was bound by contract or lease for ten years to perform yearly —

208 days' work of a man valued at		21 skill.		6 run.		93 dol.	8 sk.	
40 days' work of a woman	—	10	—	8	—	8	42	
14 journeys to the town	—	1	—		—	14		
Mowing and working 14 tunlands of hay						10	32	
Cutting and carting 5 logs of timber						2	32	
Cutting and carting 4 fathoms billet wood						5	16	
Cutting and carting 200 poles						2		
Setting up half of the stakes for a stake net						3		
Keeping in repair the road allotment of the estate						2		
Ditto ditto the parish road allotments						6		
Spinning for the mistress						2		
Gathering berries							32	
Sundry small burdens						3		
						153	18	

or 12*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* These may be rather approxima-

tions than correct states, although derived from the best authorities; but are of considerable interest in a statistical view, as showing something of the standard of food and living among the labouring class. It is evidently not owing to any defect or inferiority in their physical condition, in their food or comforts, but in their civil condition, in their want of self-respect, from the want of self-direction, and of equal law, under a meddling and arbitrary system of government, that this mass of the population is demoralised. These two classes of labourers pay a direct tax to the state, a pole-tax on each male and female above 17 years of age. The torpares' landlords have to pay the taxes affecting their portions of land, as part of the hemmans, but reckon with them for it; and all have to pay the various dues to the clergy and parish functionaries, and are subject to the very onerous conscription, or military exercise during the summer, of the able-bodied men, which is a grievous tax upon the time of the labouring class, and from the system of passports necessarily connected with it, an impediment to the free circulation of labour. The corn laws also press severely on this class. It is a fixed duty on corn imported, and therefore upon a sound principle; but the rapacity of government and the class of landowners have fixed it one half too high, so that when crops fail, government is obliged suddenly to reduce the duty. In consequence of this frequent interference, the merchant is afraid to import a stock of grain when prices are moderate, and the country has, therefore, to pay the alarm price.

Grain, for instance, has been this year about three times the average price, or 21 dollars, for what usually costs 7 dollars. It has now, before any new grain can be in the market, fallen to 14 dollars. With a more moderate duty requiring no abatement, and a steady adherence of government to it, the country would have been supplied ever since last crop at or under 14 dollars, instead of paying one third more to the foreign merchant.

The next class are the proprietors of hemmans, or parts of hemmans. Of the 65,596 hemmans, into which all the land of Sweden is divided, 21,580 possess political privileges and exemptions, more or less, from taxes and public burdens, and 44,016 pay all burdens and taxes, and had no voice in the representation, until this injustice was remedied in the last diet; and all who belong to the peasant class are now entitled to represent and be represented in the chamber of peasantry. But the qualification and description of the persons qualified are very undefined, and leave openings to the intrigue and influence of the crown and nobility in the elections. The qualification is a *besutenhed*, or possession of a part of a hemman paying taxes, and giving the owner a living, residence, and occupation upon the land; and the description is a peasant who never belonged to any other class. The proportion of the yearly produce of their lands paid in taxes and other burdens by this class is already stated.

The class above the peasant class are the people of condition; that is, people who, in office, trade,

professions, or other employments, have acquired money, and purchased estates for their families. They are neither peasants, nor burgesses, nor clergy, nor nobles, and, consequently, are neither represented by either of these classes or corporate bodies, nor eligible to represent. They are the only class in the social body both educated and independent, are 72,417 in number, and own one fifth of the whole property of the country. The whole is estimated at 283 millions, of which 59 millions of dollars banco belong to this class, who pay one fifth of the taxes, yet have no voice in the election of a representative to the legislative assembly; while the clergy, with a property less than one million, and that held from the state, and with not above 14,000 persons belonging to their class, have a fourth part of the legislative power in their hands. In proportion to their intelligence, station, and stake in the community, this middle class is the worst off of any. They cannot, upon an equal footing, put their sons into any of the employments, civil or military, which are in the hands of a needy nobility, whom the mistaken policy of this weak government cherishes and provides for in the public service. In the clerical profession they meet the competition of relatives of clergymen who have no doubt a less difficult path to tread to appointment or preferment than entire strangers to those belonging to the corporation of clergy. In trade, as merchants, they labour under the same practical disadvantage. Every corporate body can breed within itself members to fill its own vacancies, and looks upon all but its own children

as intruders upon the family business, or that of their neighbours.

The mode of election to the legislative assembly, in the popular branches of this constitution, is as vague and unsatisfactory as the qualifications. The community in each hered, or court district, according to the list of those paying land-tax within it, are to meet and elect one representative of the peasant class dwelling and possessing his land within the hered, and who never before belonged to any other class having elective rights. This excludes all persons of condition who as burgesses have acquired fortunes in trade or business of any kind in the towns, and have retired to the country. It excludes all who, being allied to noble families, have acquired property in office or public service, as these are considered to be represented in the chamber of nobles. These hereds may, if the electors please, club together and send one representative for two or three hereds, in order to save expense; as the representatives of all the classes, except of the nobles, are paid by their constituents during their attendance at the diet. The towns, in the same way, of the class electing only one representative, may join together two or three, and send one person with full powers to represent them. The representatives of towns must have been magistrates, or burgesses living in the town for three years previous to the election. The magistrate in towns is appointed by the crown, and is generally the representative. By this constitution, all educated persons, unless they belong

to one or other of the privileged classes — the clerical or the noble — are excluded from the legislative body. Berzelius could neither elect nor be elected until he was raised to the class of nobility, which qualified him for his seat in the diet. The two higher classes, the nobility and clergy, or, more properly, factions of these two classes, effected the revolution of 1809, and established a constitution suitable to themselves, to their own power, influence, and safety from responsibility to any future legislative assembly for their acts, and well defined as to their own parts in it, and as to the exclusion of all not belonging to their own corporations, or those whom they could influence; but vague and undefined as to the representation of the other two chambers, leaving these open to chicanery, intrigue, or influence, for getting individuals elected or excluded.

The diet meets every five years; but an extraordinary diet may be called together, if necessary, in the interim, and it sits for three months *suo jure;* and on the demand of the chambers, the session must be prolonged for one month more. But the king has the power to prolong the session as long as he pleases; and practically three or four months are found insufficient for the ordinary business. The last diet continued assembled for nearly as many years, to the great discontent of the constituency, who have to pay the representatives, and who feel the local tax for their allowance a heavy burden on poor towns and small hereds, and the representation itself a mockery on

free institutions, which they would willingly renounce by not electing at all. It has been found necessary to prevent this, by a fine upon hereds not electing representatives, equal to the amount of the allowance to the representative. This allowance is undefined by the law, and is fixed by the local authorities.

The clergy elect their members by consistories, and the bishops have, *ex officio*, a seat and voice in their chamber. Although the clergy generally depend upon court favour for appointments and provision for their families, they are the most enlightened and most independent of the four chambers of the diet.

The Swedish nobility are the most extraordinary political body in Europe. They exercise legislative power upon a system which is representative without being elective. The stem of each noble family, the head of it, or reducing the idea to what is familiar to us, the chief of the clan, represents the whole who are noble by derivation from his stock by hereditary right, without election or reference to them. The whole body of nobility is reckoned to consist of about 18,500 individuals, which is about 1 in every 222 of the whole population; but of these the heads of the different races or families, who alone have legislative seats and voices, are not above 2500. A correct genealogical register is kept in the Ridder Hus, or house in which the chamber of nobles meet, of the descents of each stem or family, and the head of it is the self-elected member of the legislature. In this

register each family has its number, which is prefixed to the name of the individual when he gives his vote in writing. The king may create as many new nobles as he pleases, raising them to the rank of counts, barons, or nobles; and each of these, as head or stem of a noble family, takes a number, seat, and voice in the house; but the different ranks of nobles have only equal rights and votes. They may give their votes by proxies or deputies empowered to vote for them. Although the family should die out, or be lost in obscure poverty, the number is still retained in the register. Many heads of nobility are so sunk in poverty, that, there being no allowance for attendance in this class, they never appear at a diet; others are dissatisfied with the change of dynasty, and remain in the country. The numbers of the house of nobility in a diet seldom amounts to 500. In the diet of 1828 there were 492 members in this chamber, of whom 67 were ensigns and lieutenants, 49 captains, 105 colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, 38 chamberlains, 12 presidents, or vice-presidents, of departments, 12 préfets, 20 with various employments about court; in short, of 492 members, 475 were in office, and directly dependent on court favour. It was reckoned formerly that one third of the land of Sweden belonged to the nobility; and nobles only were entitled to buy land of nobility, that is, land possessing exemption from taxes and other noble privileges. These unjust privileges, I have before stated, throw an unequal burden of taxation on the other lands, to the extent of from 54 per

cent. to 225 per cent. more than an equal burden. This abuse has been remedied in the Swedish way; that is, the unjust exemptions and privileges are continued, but others as well as nobles may become purchasers of such privileged lands. As far as regards the other lands of the country, and the mass of the community, it is only shifting the abuse from one class to another; and as such estates are generally of considerable size and value, giving the class of capitalists, as well as the nobility, an interest in its continuance. The whole landed property of the nobility was valued for land-tax at 75 millions of dollars banco, at the time others as well as nobles were admitted to purchase the estates of this class with the exemptions and privileges. In the course of thirteen years, property to the amount of eight millions of dollars has passed from the hands of the nobility.

The Swedish diet meets in four separate chambers — that of nobles, of clergy, of peasants, of burgesses; and every measure has to pass through each chamber and its committees separately, and is adopted or rejected by the plurality of chambers. The best idea of the real and practical working of the Swedish constitution may be drawn from an analysis of an ordinary diet. The house of nobility in the diet before the last consisted, as before stated, of 492 members, of whom 17 were independent of the executive in their circumstances and position in society: the house of clergy consisted of 57 members, all in office, and depending for advancement or family advantage upon

court favour: the house of burgesses consisted of 47 members, of whom 15 were burgomasters, appointed by the crown, 10 were counsellors, and 4 counsellors of commerce, all more or less connected officially with the crown: the house of peasants consisted of 122 members. Of the whole diet, consisting of 718 members in all, 164 members only, viz. 17 of the house of nobles, 25 of the house of burgesses, and the 122 of the house of peasants, were not visibly connected by office with the executive or court. The house of nobility in this constitution represents about 13,500 individuals, and property valued at 75 millions of dollars: the house of clergy, 14,000 individuals and 1 million of dollars: the house of burgesses, about 66,000 individuals, and about 35 millions of dollars; and the house of peasantry, 2 millions of individuals, and 175 millions of dollars. The three chambers of nobility, clergy, and burgesses, representing together only 90,000 individuals, have each as much weight in the legislature as the remaining house, representing 2 millions of people with 175 millions of dollars; and the 72,417 people of condition, with property valued and taxed for 59 millions of dollars, are not represented at all. We sometimes hear the Swedish constitution talked of by Swedish travellers (noblemen) as something excellent: it is so for them.

Any amendment in this constitution must proceed from the monarch and the people. The nobility, clergy, and burgesses, each as powerful in it as the peasantry, and these, although with many

eloquent men among them, as a class humiliated, and subservient to the higher classes, would oppose any reform by which their own privileges would be equalised with those of other tax-paying subjects.

The Swedish constitution is a machine, of which the parts are curiously constructed for checking the movements of each other; but the moving together has been lost sight of in framing it. Before the most simple act can go through four chambers, with all their committees and separate interests cutting it into the shape that suits their views, it is scarcely to be recognised by the original proposer; and the waste of time in discussing amendments is necessarily excessive. But there are stops and checks upon mal-administration in this constitution, which are admirable. The chambers of the Diet appoint a justice-man, or prosecutor-general of the States, who has the duty of watching over the administration of the laws, and of entering prosecutions against the judges themselves, or other public functionaries, for neglect or breach of duty. He has to give a yearly report upon the administration of the laws. At every Diet the chambers elect twelve deputies each, to form a jury, which determines, from the reports laid before them, whether all the judges of the highest court of law shall be retained in office, and if not, which of them shall retire upon half of their salary. The jury meets instanter, when chosen by the chambers, and give their votes not according to chambers, but per capita. The first question voted is, whether there be reason to exclude any of the present

judges from the further exercise of judicial function in the highest court. If the answer is no, the court remains with the same members. If the votes are affirmative, each of the jury gives in a list of the judges whom he thinks they should strike off. The three judges who have the most votes against them are again voted for; but three fourths of the votes must be against a judge to effect his removal. Besides this attorney-general of the Diet for prosecuting the judges and administrative officers themselves, there is an attorney-general for prosecuting offences before the different courts. In the military, diplomatic, and higher offices of state, persons holding public employments may be dismissed by the king; but in all the lower civil offices, no functionary can be dismissed when once appointed, without inquiry and judgment of the courts of law. This is one of the main defences of the independence of the numerous class in the public service. The king can take no resolution, except in military and diplomatic matters, without consulting the council of state, which must keep a protocol of its proceedings, in which each member has a right to explain his opinions. The king alone has the right in this council to determine; but should the royal determination be contrary to law, the members of council are bound to insert their protests in the protocol, and should they omit to do so, are answerable to the Diet, as having advised or sanctioned the illegal determination of the sovereign. This council of state is the most important branch of the constitution. It consists of one minister for justice,

one for foreign affairs, six councillors of state, the chancellor of the court, and is attended by the four secretaries of state, who have the four departments of home affairs, military and naval affairs, affairs of finance, trade, customs, and post-office, and affairs of the church, general education, and the poor. The Diet appoints a committee for constitutional affairs, which has the power to call for the protocol of the council of state relative to any transaction that has occurred since the previous Diet, and to impeach the members of council for sanctioning or neglecting to protest against any measure prejudicial to the country, or the ground law. In the detail of this constitution there are admirable arrangements and principles for checking and revising acts of the executive by the responsibility of its ministers to the legislative body at the end of every five years, for the measures they may have advised or sanctioned by their silent acquiescence; and also by their independence of the executive in holding their offices in all inferior situations in which the functionaries might be made tools of for carrying into effect illegal measures. The fault of the constitution is in its foundation, in raising its representatives for the Diet out of corporate bodies, having no just right to any superior share in the legislation, having many unjust interests and privileges to defend, and of which the members looking for places or privileges for themselves or their families, which the executive may give or deny, are not in a position to be independent and disinterested as electors, or representatives.

The machinery for administering the laws of a country is of as much importance as that for making them: it deserves the traveller's notice, because it is of every-day influence in the business of the people. In Sweden, this machinery is superior to our own: there are 264 courts of first instance, called hereds' courts, with a judge, or heredhovding to preside in the court; and the country is divided into hereds, or districts, equivalent in judicial affairs to parishes in ecclesiastical. The courts sit three times a year. Twelve peasants are elected by the peasants of the hered, to serve as a jury for two years; and in this election of nammdsman, as they are called, every peasant has an equal vote, be his property or share of a hemman great or small. In the towns, there are in some, two courts of first instance, the town-house court (rad-hus ret), and the chamberlain's court (kæmner's ret), so that in this part of the population the proportion of courts of justice to the number of people cannot be exactly ascertained. In the rural population there appears to be one court of first instance for every 10,362 individuals; and in the 84 towns, at least one court for every 3,325 individuals. There are also a mining college court, two academical courts, and some local burgh courts, which I do not include. This is a more plentiful supply of justice than we have in Scotland or England; and it being administered through the medium of a jury, is probably of a more satisfactory kind in courts of the first instance, than the administration by a public functionary, whether paid or unpaid, and settles

cases in the minds of parties more decidedly. The establishment at least of courts of arbitration or mutual agreement, as in Denmark and Norway, has not been adopted in Sweden, and private settlements after or before the decision of the hered's court are very common. Before the whole of the hereds' courts in Sweden, in the year 1836, the number of civil cases tried and adjudged was 71,312, or, on an average, 270 in each court; and of these, 5,001 cases only were carried to a higher court. The number of cases determined in all the town courts, in 1836, was 9,288, and in the mining college court 403; and the number of appeals from these was 1,089. From the courts of first instance the appeal is carried to the lagmans' courts; in which the lagman, with twelve jurymen, taken from the hereds' jurymen within the district, decide. This is looked upon by many as an unnecessary wheel in the administration of the law, as cases have already gone through a jury investigation and decision in the inferior court, and an appeal lies from this, or past this court, to the Hof courts, or supreme courts; of which three, called the Swea, the Scania, and the Gotha Hof courts, are seated in different parts of the kingdom. These are the courts of highest resort, and their decisions cannot be appealed from; but may, by petition to the king, be revised in the council of state, and reversed. All criminal cases, affecting life or property, or of more weight than petty offences, are determined in these Hof courts. The lagmans' court has no criminal jurisdiction. The ecclesiastical courts judge in

divorces, of which the number in a year (1834) was 146; which is about the average.

The executive and administrative functions are entirely distinct, and not blended together, as in our legal establishments. The judge has nothing to do with the apprehending, safe keeping, or accusing of the criminals in his district: the fogden and lansman are the executive officers.

The machinery for making laws may be imperfect in Sweden, and too much in the hands of corporate or privileged bodies, to make good and impartial law for the community; but the machinery for the administration of the laws has many valuable principles in it. The hereds' courts and juries, the division of executive from administrative function even in the lowest courts, and the division or multiplication of the courts of last resort, give an easy access from first to last to the judgment of law, free from bias or partiality. The principal complaint in Sweden is, that the writings and forms which have been accumulating in the modes of procedure before the higher courts have been augmented rather than diminished by the diminution of business now, compared to the time when Sweden had extensive interests on the other side of the Baltic. The same number of individuals have to live by the courts of law; and as real business is wanting, forms and writings supply the place of real business, and are made of more importance, to give them bread under the appearance of doing something for it. The observation is applicable to all the establishments of the country: there is much ado

about nothing in all their affairs ; — departments of state, and functionaries with high-sounding titles, superintend matters — such as the mining, naval, or canal business — which a director, with ten or twelve clerks, would manage in countries which have real business to do. Ambassadors and envoys are kept up at every court ; —now, when the influence of Sweden in European affairs is less than that of many private mercantile firms—Consuls from Sweden are in every mercantile port in the world, with a mercantile shipping list not greater than that of single sea-port towns in America, Britain, or Holland. To appear of importance, since the reality is gone — to make a display that may impose upon her subjects as well as upon foreigners, is the rule upon which all is moulded in the domestic and foreign policy of Sweden, and with the same results as with private individuals — the loss of the real comfort and well-being they might enjoy at home ; and of the real respect and influence they might obtain abroad.

CHAPTER VIII.

STEAM TO THE ISLAND OF GOTHLAND. — SAINT OLAF. — TOBACCO. — EVENING SCENERY. — OAKS. — BUOYS. — WESTERWICK. — WISBY. — ANCIENT TOWN WALLS. — RUINS. — ANCIENT GREATNESS. — OLD CHURCHES. — SAXON AND NORMAN STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE IN CHURCHES BUILT IN 1086. — PURITY OF TASTE. — MERCANTILE MARKS ON OLD TOMBS. — PORT OF WISBY. — A DAY IN THE COUNTRY. — PRICE OF LAND. — SOIL. — CLIMATE. — MEETING OF HERITORS. — ISLAND OF GOTHLAND. — FORMATION. — ORGANIC REMAINS. — POPULATION. — MORAL CONDITION. — CRIME. — PUNISHMENT. — INQUISITION NOT ABOLISHED IN LUTHERAN COUNTRIES, BUT TRANSFERRED FROM THE CHURCH COURTS TO THE STATE. — DIFFERENT IDEAS OF CRIME IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. — DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES ON WHICH PUNISHMENTS ARE AWARDED IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. — POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE POSITION OF GOTHLAND IN THE BALTIC. — RUSSIA. — SWEDISH POLICY. — MILDNESS OF CLIMATE. — RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS. — BERZELIUS. — RETURN TO SWEDEN. — JONKIOPPING. — TABERG. — THE WETTER LAKE. — THE COUNTRY BETWEEN THE WETTER AND WENER LAKES. — BETWEEN THE WENER LAKE AND GLOMMEN. — BEDS OF SHELLS OF EXISTING SPECIES AT UDDEVALLA. — RISE OF THE LAND. — RETURN TO NORWAY. — MOSS. — DRAMMEN.

August 15. — I EMBARKED to-day in a small steam vessel bound to the island of Gothland: our course has been up the lake Malare, following the most southerly branch of it to the extreme end, where a short canal connects it with a long sound or inlet of the Baltic. It was in this branch of the Malare, if I am not mistaken, that Saint Olaf, when a Viking, was penned up on one of his piratical

expeditions in the eleventh century, by the united fleets of the Swedish and Danish monarchs: they expected to starve him out, or to force him to engage with his few ships to a disadvantage. He made a ditch or canal from the lake to the Baltic, through which he carried his vessels to sea, leaving the enemy blockading the entrance of the branch of the lake. There is now a beautiful canal, and the transition from the lake to the sea is so imperceptible, that I was only aware of our being out of the fresh water on seeing medusæ and pieces of sea-weed floating alongside. A little town, called Sodretellje, stands at the junction of the lake with the sea. I observed tobacco growing in some quantity about this place: every cottage had a plot, like a cabbage garden, of tobacco plants, well hoed and weeded. The Swedes use a great deal of snuff, and the common people use it in a peculiar way; — they put a large pinch of it under the tongue. The quality of their own tobacco is probably inferior for smoking or snuffing; but for this use, being mixed with saltpetre and other ingredients, it may be as good as foreign; and it is got without buying, which is the principle on which society moves in Sweden. It is not to earn, in order to buy — as with our common people; but to do without buying — to want, rather than buy. We stopped this evening at sunset, and are lying alongside of a rocky bank of the narrow inlet for the night. We are in one of the most picturesque of Swedish landscapes. It is a great advantage in Baltic scenery, that you have no ebb-tide, leaving a wet, muddy interval be-

tween the growing trees on the green banks and the water edge: the water, also, is so shut in and sheltered in these narrow long inlets and bights, that its surface is calm and unruffled; and it is so deep, close to the shore, that vessels come up to the rock as to a quay. We are beautifully concealed in a little cove, overshadowed by a group of fine old oaks: the round masses of foliage of these magnificent trees are a relief to the eye, after the jagged fir-top outline of the northern forests. The oak arrives to a great size in this part of Sweden, and, as a planted tree, grows as far north as Gefle, or nearly to latitude 61°. In the park or Djur Garden at Stockholm there are oaks which could scarcely be matched in England for size and picturesque appearance: the leaf is of a paler green, and less dentated than that of the English oak; and the soil seems less congenial to the plant, for there is no underwood or copse, with young sprouts or saplings of oak growing like weeds on the ground, as in England in the oak-growing counties. We are in a bight, like a small pool rather than an inlet of the sea, surrounded by white rocks and green trees, and moored to a bank on which children are gathering strawberries to sell to the passengers.

Westerwick, August 16. — We proceeded at daylight this morning down the sound, and followed the line of coast on passing its mouth, leaving the chain of isles and rocks, the skeergard, outside of us, and sometimes winding among them through channels scarcely wider than the vessel. These channels are marked by buoys, of a better and far

less expensive kind than those used in our sea ways: a pole, or branch of a tree not thicker than a walking-stick, is anchored by one end, so that it stands upright in the water; — it presents no surface, like our kegs or barrel-shaped buoys, for the waves to act upon; it can never drag its anchor, or be broken loose by the force of the sea; is very visible, with a tuft of the small branches left upon the top of the stick; is easily replaced — and costs only a rope, a stone, and a pole. It would be impossible to navigate along this coast without a succession of buoys close to each other; which it would require an enormous sum to keep up, if the Swedes used our expensive kind of buoy to mark out every sunk rock and turn in these intricate channels. Towards evening we passed a tract of the coast open to the sea, and arrived at this neat thriving town, Westerwick. It has a population of 3000 inhabitants, and several large vessels: — vessels built here are of oak, and considered the best of their class in Sweden. The decline of the Swedish commercial shipping from year to year is very remarkable, and must be alarming to the government. Sweden builds ships cheaply, yet cannot navigate them so cheaply as the Norwegians and other people who buy her vessels, and trade to and from Sweden with them. The cause is said to be the want of good shipmasters; and the restrictive system, by which good cannot be selected but only privileged: and the interference of government in the detail of victualling the seamen, by which stowage in the vessels is wasted. At this place I was glad to get into a pretty good inn on shore. The

Swedish steam-vessels are not very comfortable: the restaurateurs on board of them are generally females; and, compared to other steam-boats, the victualling department of the passengers is scanty, dirty, and dear.

Wisby, August 18. — We proceeded next morning to sea; that is, we left the coast, steered an east course, were out of sight of the land for an hour, and made the island of Gothland, and were landed here in its metropolis yesterday evening, in seven hours. The distance from the main coast of Sweden to this island is 14 leagues. This ancient city is the most extraordinary place in the north of Europe. It is a city of the middle ages, — existing unbroken, and unchanged in a great measure to the present day; — it appears to have undergone less alteration from time, devastation, or improvement, than any place of the same antiquity. The appearance from the sea of this mother of the Hanseatic cities is very striking, from the numerous remains of churches and ancient structures within a small space. I counted thirty-five towers, spires, or prominent ruins. On landing, the aspect is equally novel. Ancient streets, well paved, cross each other in all directions; and the causeway work, with two or three parallel bands, or stripes of larger paving stones, running lengthwise through the streets, looks ornamental, or at least regular. I have seen such paving about some cathedral in England. The houses on each side of these ancient streets are in general poor cabins, with gardens, potato-ground, and corn crops, all huddled

together, among ruins of churches of very extraordinary beauty and workmanship, and, as ruins, in very picturesque preservation. The whole city is surrounded by its ancient wall, with towers—square, octagonal, and round—as they stood in the 13th century, and with very little demolition. The wall is entire, and above thirty feet high for the greater part, and is in no place demolished. Of forty-five towers upon it, the greater part are entire: some are roofed-in, and used as magazines, a prison, storehouses, or workshops. There has been no ditch. The wall, with its towers built upon rock scarcely covered with soil, follows the inequalities of the ground from the sea at one end, all round the site of the ancient city, to the sea at the other. There are three gates in the wall; and it appears to have been strengthened at some period by an additional wall on the inside, built against the other, which has also been raised higher. On the north side of the town there has been apparently an outer wall. This wall was built in 1288, and, consequently, without any view to attack and defence by fire-arms; and is perhaps the most entire specimen of ancient fortification remaining in the north of Europe. This curious city (which might accommodate within its area and along its paved streets 30,000 or 40,000 people) contains at present only 4,268 inhabitants, badly lodged in little tenements, under edifices of great cost and magnificence, which the former inhabitants reared with the superfluity of their wealth. You scarcely see a human being moving in streets once crowded with the wealthiest merchants of all

countries. In the earlier part of the middle ages, and before the Hans towns were heard of, Wisby had long been the great emporium of commerce in the north of Europe: the market, in which the productions even of the East, brought by caravans to Novogorod and across the Baltic, met the furs and metals of the north, and the buyers of the south of Europe. In very remote times the Scandinavian side of the Baltic, abounding in copper and iron close to the surface of the earth, and easily smelted from the purity of the ores, must have been a kind of Mexico or Peru to the people dwelling in the plains of the north-east of Europe, who had not the same easy access to the supply of metal for their arms or utensils, in their own soils. Scandinavia, without being the cunabula gentium from which swarms of people were thrown off, was a point towards which emigrations would probably tend, in order afterwards to diverge; — especially as for the subsistence of a people living by hunting and fishing, it would be, as it is now, preferable to any northern country, from its abundance of fish and game. When the floods of people ceased to be poured from the north, and exchange between individuals instead of conquest in bodies, became the means of obtaining the metals and other necessaries, the situation of Wisby between the two sides of the Baltic, each producing what the other wanted, made it a safe and convenient meeting point for all barter in the north. Wisby was, in the 10th and 11th centuries, (two hundred years before the establishment of the Hanseatic league, in 1241,) one of

the most important commercial cities in Europe. Its mercantile laws were regarded as the most perfect, and they were transferred to France by Saint Louis, whose code of the Isle of Oleron was copied from the constitutions of Wisby; and these contain the principles of maritime, mercantile, and international law, as now adopted in all civilised countries. Wisby had a population of 12,000 burgesses, besides labourers, tradesmen, women, and children, in the 13th century. The foreigners in the 11th century were so numerous, that each nation had its own church and house of assembly; — this is evident, indeed, from the many remains of churches within a few yards of each other. Judging from the numerous ruins of costly structures, the remains of her former magnificence, we must consider Wisby to have been a more important city than Lubeck, which at a later period became the seat of the Hanseatic power, and rose by the decline of Wisby. There are said to have been eighteen churches in Wisby; — there are ruins remaining of twelve. These are almost all from one to two hundred years older than the date of the Hanseatic league; which shows that Wisby long preceded the Hans towns in the trade of the north, and probably declined from their rise. The more immediate cause of her decline was being stormed and sacked, in 1361, by Waldemar of Denmark, from which time she was often a prey to the Danes and Lubeckers, and in 1438 became a kind of robber-nest for ten years to Eric of Pomerania, the expelled King of Sweden. These churches are the most interesting Gothic

edifices in Europe. They show the style of building, ornament, and workmanship in one precisely determined age; and are not like the larger Gothic cathedrals in other countries, the work of one or two centuries, added to, altered, or rebuilt according to the varying taste or funds of successive generations. They are buildings of the 11th and 12th century — older than the oldest specimen we have in England of Norman or of Saxon buildings; and are on this account extremely interesting, as they show in the arches of the same period, the characteristics which we suppose in England distinguish two distinct periods of Gothic architecture. This is the first idea that will occur to the traveller in this remarkable place, when he sees from his window round Saxon and pointed Norman arches used indiscriminately in buildings of the 11th century.

August. — This town, empty of inhabitants, with gardens, corn land, and large unoccupied spaces within its walls, and no suburbs or habitations on the plain without, reminds one of the description of eastern cities. But it is no barren desert outside of the walls. I have been ruin-hunting some days over the city. The first of the church ruins which I visited, was Helige Ands Kirkan — the Holy Ghost's church: it was built in 1046. It is a very curious small structure; it is an octagonal prism, of about 100 feet high, and 52 feet in length within the walls, divided into two stories. The lower story, or ground floor, has four massive octagonal pillars of about 14 feet high, supporting the vault, which is in twelve compartments. The capitals

and bases of these pillars are each of a single stone, and the whole work is of hewn stone, and of beautiful workmanship. In the middle of this vault there is a large octagonal opening, edged with carved stone. In the thickness of the wall, two little winding staircases lead to the upper story, meeting at the top in a large entrance. In this upper story four round pillars also, of about 14 feet high, standing immediately above the four below, support another vault similar to the one below, but partly fallen in. The choir has been common to both these churches. It is a rectangle of about 32 feet in length, by 25 in breadth; but inside, the east end, where the altar has stood, is semicircular; and in each corner are three small vaulted cells or recesses, one above the other, with little stairs leading from one to the other. There are three windows in the lower, and three in the upper church. The upper has also a large open arch, looking into the choir, above the large entrance into it from the lower church. The main entrance is a round massive Saxon arch, and the windows and other arches are in the same style. A crypt, or church in the vault under the main body of a cathedral, is not unusual; but the lower is generally, as at Saint Denis, intended for a receptacle of tombs, or for occasional church service; not as the principal church: but here the lower and upper are of equal importance in the design of the structure, or the lower church even superior to the upper in workmanship and ornament. It is difficult, also, to guess at the use of the ornamental octagonal

opening in the centre of the vault, forming the roof of the lower, and floor of the upper church.. It appears in no way connected with any appendage of Christian worship; and one would almost hazard the opinion that this octagonal building has been originally the temple of another religion, to which a choir for the altar had been added when it was consecrated as a church. The religion of Odin was existing in full force in Scandinavia, in the tenth century, when Wisby was a great city, and had temples of stone, where stone was the building material, as appears by the remains at Gamle Upsala and Sigtuna, and had ornaments in the precious metals, of a workmanship not surpassed by those belonging to Christian churches of a much later period. It is reasonable to suppose, that people or priests who had skill, taste, or wealth, to make or buy such ornaments for their idols, as are to be seen in the antiquarian collections at Christiania and Copenhagen, would be able to build houses over them, and that stone would be used where stone could be more easily got than timber. Wisby is said, but I do not know on what authority, to have had a celebrated temple of Odin before the introduction of Christianity; and as merchants are seldom fanatics, it is more likely that such a building would be purified and consecrated, than pulled down and built up again. Around the top of the wall there are stones built in, of some feet in length, and different from the other squared stones among which they are inserted, which are said to be letters or characters, and at a distance they have that

appearance; but they form no combination of shapes that could ever have been intelligible signs; and I take them to have been inserted for strengthening that part to support some superstructure. The octagonal form, the great difference of the proportions of height and length, and the beautiful masonry and chaste style and effect of this structure, make it a remarkable specimen of the architecture of the eleventh century. The oldest church here, in which the pointed arch, and what we call the Norman style of Gothic architecture, is found, is Saint Lawrence church, built in the same year 1046, as the specimen of the pure Saxon above described. — It is a cross church, or church with a transept; and pointed and round arches are used indiscriminately, even in the lower parts of the building. Within a few yards of it is Saint Drottens, built in 1086, and in the Saxon style: Saint Nicholas, again, built in 1097, is a large edifice, altogether in the Norman style, with long windows, and all the arches, which are very beautiful, pointed. It is evident that the different style of the arches does not denote a different age in these buildings; and these are older than any in Britain of a known date. They deserve the consideration of the English antiquary, who takes an interest in the ecclesiastical architecture of the early ages of Christianity: and even the builders who adorn Edinburgh with gimcracks in cut-stone, called Gothic chapels, might perhaps study with advantage, in churches not larger than their own, the effect produced by simplicity and absence of unmeaning ornament in these struc-

tures in Wisby of the eleventh century. There are ideas in them which deserve to be transferred to our Gothic edifices. They are not cathedrals. A cathedral in small is ridiculous — like a monarch in small, it wants effect. These are churches or chapels of the size we want — and of the purity of taste, solemnity of effect, beauty of design, and solidity of construction, which we also want. Wisby is the Rome of the modern architects who will deal in the Gothic.

In rummaging about the only church, St. Mary's, which is kept up in Wisby, and of which it is unnecessary to say any thing, because, since it was originally built by the German merchants in Wisby, in 1190, it has been apparently repaired and renewed in different ages, — I was struck with the great number of tombstones applied to all sorts of uses, stairs, pavements, and so on, and many broken, and piled up in heaps for building materials. Some of them, with dates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had evidently been much older tombstones, and the original inscription, with laudable frugality, erased to make room for that over the new incumbent; but on many there appeared a sort of hieroglyphic or Runic character; a stroke, with other strokes crossing or meeting it in various shapes and angles, of which I could make nothing. It was not possible that a Runic character, which it most resembled, could be in use in Wisby on tombstones of dates between 1500 and 1600. I applied to a young lawyer, a native of the place, whose acquaintance I had made, to

solve me the puzzle: his solution was ingenious, and, I doubt not, correct. When writing was not an ordinary accomplishment among the most wealthy burgesses of Wisby or the Hans towns, every merchant had his own particular mark or scratch, known to his customers or correspondents as well as if it had been his signature in letters; and this mark was hereditary, and transmitted in his family, and was their countersign by which their wares were known, or their communications recognised, by all who dealt with or knew them; and this mark or hieroglyphic was inscribed on their tombstones to distinguish them, dead or alive, from others: — this is the tradition of the place with regard to these marks. The most ancient tombstone I saw here was one of 1236, in German, which I had not time to decipher: it was in the summer-house of a gentleman with whom I dined one day, a few miles from town. He had also half a dozen finely carved, old, straight-backed chairs, and some tapestry, which had belonged to the palace of Eric of Pomerania, demolished in 1468, and of which no remains are left, the stones having been burnt into lime: there was also in his possession a curious iron crown, which had been formerly kept in a church on the east side of the island, which, according to tradition, was built by Saint Olaf. The material of these tombstones is a compact white limestone, appearing like white marble, but it is not so hard, and is not of crystalline texture. This rock appears in the town itself, apparently under strata of yellowish and grey lime-

stone, which are full of the fossil remains of the extinct molluscæ. The material of the ancient buildings and town walls is a compact grey or yellow limestone, quarried close to the town. The rock comes close to or above the surface in and around Wisby. Except the material, nothing remains in these ancient churches: they were plundered by Waldemar, king of Denmark, in July, 1361, who landed with a large force, killed 1,800 of the citizens, and loaded two ships with the valuables taken as ransom for the town. In the front of Saint Nicholas church, two ornamental roseworks or circles are shown, in the centres of which were two carbuncles, it was said, of which the light could be seen far off, and was of use in guiding mariners at sea. It is possible that some glittering spar may have been inserted in these circles, which are constructed of brick upon the stone front, as if intended for a frame to some relic or ornament. The vessel carrying all this treasure to Denmark was lost on the Carl Isles, — small isles at the south-west end of Gothland.

The port of Wisby, once the scene of so much traffic, is a poor little harbour not capable of holding above a dozen of square-rigged vessels, and with only nine feet of water, or eleven with particular winds. This is the new harbour: the old behind, or to the north of it, has not been much more capacious; and, from the shape of the coast, there could never have been any shelter or natural harbour for a number of large vessels. The ancient walls, coming down to the sea at each end of the town,

show that no great change has taken place in the shape of the land, since Wisby was a great commercial place. The harbour may have been deeper; and the land undoubtedly has risen, or has had a different sea shore from the present, but it has been before Wisby was thought of, and when the greater part of its site was under the sea. A ridge of rock, or cliff, or more correctly the edge of the upper bed or stratum of the rock of the highest level of the island, runs through the upper end of the town, and the wall is built partly upon it; but the body of the town and all its ancient buildings stand on the slope, or rather on the under bed of rock at the foot of this range of old coast. Between this upper fossiliferous stratum and the lower, consisting of a more compact limestone — not, I believe, containing fossil remains — the sea has stood, apparently from the beaches of flat stones thrown up; but the site of Wisby has been under water when these were touched by the sea. The shipping in which the trade of those days was carried on, were probably of a small size, such as could be laid aground, or even drawn up on a beach — galliots of forty or fifty tons' burden. The vessels in which the Northmen, under their sea-kings, plundered the coasts of France and England, were of a class to go up small rivers. They went up the Seine to Paris — and even up such small rivers as the Rother, in Kent.

August. — I was invited to pass a day with a gentleman who has a handsome estate, some miles from the town: we drove to his residence in the

morning. It was a substantial farm establishment — a convenient little mansion-house, with plenty of offices of all kinds around it; a good threshing mill, driven by four oxen; fanners; a smith's shop, carpenter's shop, and all that a good farm requires. The fields were large, or of twenty to thirty tunlands, that is, from twenty-four to thirty-six acres, under one kind of grain crop. The rotation was wheat or rye, oats and vetches — potatoes, and barley with timothy grass seeds, the manure applied on this crop — hay — and wheat and rye again. Sea-weed, a stinted fucus vessiculosus, with much zostera maritina, is used, and is in abundance as drift weed, but is not growing upon the coast; from which I guess that between the granitic rocks of the Swedish coast, on which the fuci do not grow, and the cretaceous formation of this coast, which also wants this plant, there must be reefs below the water, of the intermediary formations, on which the plant flourishes. The cattle on this farm were of a poor description; the horses small, but not bad; sheep very bad, and not in numbers equal to the land; the pasture excellent, but encumbered with trees and brushwood. The common daisy, bellis perennis, which I never saw in Sweden or Norway, is as common here as in our grass fields; and the natural grass covers the ground with as tight and fine a sward. On this farm of 700 tunlands, or about 854 acres, (but much of it not cleared of wood, although of excellent soil,) there are 34 torpare, or cottars, paying work-days for their land. In this island land is very cheap: this property I under-

stand was purchased lately for 7000 dollars banco, or about 580*l.* sterling. I saw an adjoining property for sale, and went over it, in order to understand the value of land in the island. The total area was 367 English acres; of these 44 acres of a fine loam on limestone are dry good soil, producing wheat and rye, and yielding six returns. This is farmed under a kind of rotation; 50 acres are in natural grass for hay, and have never been ploughed for a crop; 120 acres are in three fields for pasturage, and seem of excellent soil, but encumbered with trees and brushwood; 150 acres are underwood, giving fuel and fences, and from the thin soil over the rock, not capable of improvement. The farm keeps eight cows, two pair of oxen, one pair of horses, has a cottar, paying 40 or 50 work-days, a sea-strand with sea-weed. There are suitable and convenient houses on it: the price asked was 4,500 banco dollars, or 375*l.* I saw another, which appeared not less, but the houses not so good, which was on sale for about 200*l.* sterling. These appear extraordinarily small prices for wheat land in Europe, of good soil, within a few miles of a town. A servant in husbandry, a foreman, receives but 100 dollars rigsgäld, or about 6*l.* sterling in wages, with a house, candles, and fuel. The torpare, or servants on a farm, very often pay 100 dollars banco, or 9*l.* sterling, for a piece of land, for 50 years, large enough to subsist a family, and build their own houses, and pay so many days' labour in the year as rent. There is no astriction to mills; every man may build a mill to grind his own corn; but

if he grinds for other people, must pay a yearly tax for the privilege to exercise this branch of industry. The price of a horse is about 6*l.*; of a cow, from thirty shillings to 3*l.* sterling; of a sheep, about two shillings and eight-pence. The tithe is not paid to the crown in this province, but to the minister, and is always settled by a reasonable modus or composition. The patronage, except in two or three parishes, is not vested in the crown, but in the parishioners; that is, the consistory send three candidates to preach, and the parishioners elect one of them, who receives the presentation; and it is, I understand, quite a settled custom to bargain first what the composition for the tithe shall be, and elect the most moderate to be minister. In all these circumstances there is nothing to account for the uncommonly low value of land in this island. These are my notes of a day, very interesting to a farmer. I saw, besides, a great deal of country business: for the gentleman had the good taste not to treat me as a stranger; but took me to a meeting he had to attend of the heritors of the parish, for inquiring into their poor funds, repairs of the manse, and other matters, in consequence of the death of the minister. There were about thirty heritors, of whom five were of the class of country gentlemen, the rest peasant-proprietors, assembled in the school-house, a very respectable building; and I might easily have supposed myself at a similar meeting in a Scotch parish, so similar were the points in discussion, and the way of discussing them. We returned to dinner at one o'clock, had good

family fare, set out again after coffee, and visited every thing within a considerable circuit which was thought interesting, and I got to my lodgings at eleven o'clock at night, after passing a day very instructively and agreeably.

August. — The island of Gothland is a great table of limestone, about 77 miles in length, by 35 in breadth, and between 80 and 150 feet above the level of the sea: it is a very remarkable piece of land. The whole mass is a formation filled with the fossil remains of the extinct molluscæ. The contrast between the primary rocks of the Swedish coast, without a trace of organic existence — and this large island, composed it may be said of remains of formerly living animals, and within so short a distance of each other that the rock of red granite and of the encrinite limestone may be seen at one time in the mid-channel — is very striking on reflection. On this table of land there is nothing deserving the name of hill or valley: there are elevations, but the highest is scarcely 200 feet above the level of the sea, and depressions a very little lower than the medium level of the land, which is from 80 to 100 feet above the sea; and in these depressions, which are numerous, there are mires and little lakes, called here, as in Lapland, trasks. The rock is in horizontal strata; but viewed in large, the country is, like the peninsula, steeper on the west side, and gradually sloping to the east; and its length runs parallel to that of the peninsula, and of the long and narrow island of Oland, which is distant from Gothland about 40 miles, and only

divided from the peninsula by a channel of four or five miles broad. There are several islands on the coast of Gothland, of which Faro, at the north end, is the most considerable, and is divided from the main island by a sound with 11 feet of water: the highest point in Gottland is Hogklint, about three miles south of Wisby, and only 200 feet above the sea level. These islands consist entirely of limestone, filled with the organic remains of extinct animals, former inhabitants of the waters: these are in such quantities, that the rock itself consists in some places of a mass of the parts of encrinites and corallites, and is distinguished by the name of encrinite limestone; the entire animal however, has never been found in Gothland. In some places the tentaculæ of the animal are very abundant; in others, the crowns to which these have been attached. The extraordinary relics of the insect or fish, the Trilobite, are common; both the specimens of the animal, spread out and rolled up, and which are ascribed to three varieties. The localities where the curious traveller may easily find interesting specimens of fossils are at Klintoberg, on the sea strand at Wisby, at Capelshamn, at Klinte, Slito, Ostergarn, and, in fact, in the upper strata, and the *débris* between the upper and the lower, over the whole island. The sea appears to have had its shore at this upper bed, and to have formed beaches of stones at its foot, which is now above, and far from the sea. This upper bed of limestone is split and cracked vertically, so that the surface waters in many places disappear in holes, and issue out

again at a considerable distance. I was shown such a hole, in which a considerable drainage of water goes down, as in a common cess-pool, and re-appears on the shore-side two or three miles off; that is, the bed under the uppermost is more compact, and holds the water until it runs off at a lower level between the two strata. By this percolation of water a kind of marle clay, which is often rich in petrifactions, is formed between the layers of stone. At the south end of the island there is a kind of peninsula, joined to it by a neck of land between Bursvik and Sleesvik bays, of about two miles across. Here a light soft sandstone is the lowest, and alternates with clay marle, and is covered with a bed of oolite of a whitish yellow. In the sandstone, but only in the upper layers of it, which alternate with the marle clay and limestone, are fossils, only found in it and the oolite, lying immediately upon it (Mytilites retroflexus), not in the other strata of the island. In the oolite are more fossils, and some peculiar to it, and not found elsewhere: in the upper limestone of the island the fossils are every where numerous, and it is probable they are not as yet perfectly known. The vertebræ of the Ichthyosaurus has been found in Gothland; but there is a wide interval in animal organisation between its state in this animal and in zoophites and molluscæ, and much remains to be discovered, and in many forms between these two stages of animal life. There is considerable difficulty among the Swedish geologists in classing the formation of Gothland in its proper family of rocks; some class it with moun-

tain limestone, or jura limestone, others with later formations. The upper rock is in many places bare, or but thinly covered with soil, and trees only are produced in extensive tracts. But other extensive tracts are of fine loam, approaching to clay, and are of deep fertile soil. Near the coast there is a considerable mixture of the flat small stones, which is the form taken by the fragments of the mechanically aggregated rocks when rolled or water-worn, while the crystalline become rounded masses. The land is not encumbered with the erratic blocks of granite. The principal exports of this fine island are wheat, rye, deals, and lime, some wool, and some salted meat.

The number of hemmans of land taxed is 1098, containing 638,046 tunlands, or 779,824 acres of land: these are divided among many proprietors, some having only a sixteenth, or even a smaller part of a whole hemman; and, as in the rest of Sweden, the size and value of these hemmans are so different, that one proprietor may be paying double or treble of the public burdens paid by his neighbours from an equal or larger estate. It is in this way that a people is demoralised by their government, and their ideas of right and wrong loosened and cast off from fixed principle by faulty and arbitrary legislation. The whole population of Gothland at the end of 1835, when the last official estimate of their numbers was made, was 36,403 individuals in the country, 4268 in Wisby, the only town; being in all 40,671 persons.

The moral condition of this rural population had

become a subject of great interest to me. I had conversed in Stockholm with several Swedish and English gentlemen upon the extraordinary results in moral statistics given by the examination and comparison of the criminal lists of Sweden; and although the official returns could not be questioned, it was still contended that my conclusions were not correct — that I was mixing up mere breaches of police regulations, or of economical or conventional laws, with moral transgressions and crimes, and which happen, by their faulty and demoralising legislation, to be classed and punished equally, or similarly, and was carrying the whole sum of these into one amount of immorality in my estimate of the moral state of Sweden. Now here is a small isolated population unmixed with any contaminating influences of trade, manufactures, soldiery, or any conceivable cause to affect unfavourably their moral condition — excepting the great demoralising influences of bad government, bad laws, and bad social arrangements. In this population there can be no lack of religious instruction, for there are 93 clerical charges; consequently, one minister of religion to every 435 individuals. My visit to this detached province has been well rewarded by the interesting ruins of Wisby, and the still more interesting remains of a former state of animal existence, which I had never before seen on so great a scale; but my main object was to examine on the spot how this compact isolated rural population, situated so favourably for their moral condition, stands in comparison with a similar portion of other

nations. This is surely a fair sample of Sweden. The whole number condemned, not accused merely, or committed, but condemned, in this population in 1837, was 147 persons, or 1 in every 277 of the whole men, women, and children existing in the island. But deducting all merely police transgressions, and analysing the criminal list, we find in this year, 1837 (which is stated in the official report to be lighter of crime than preceding years), 2 cases of murder, 1 of child-murder, 1 of poisoning, and 5 persons condemned for these crimes of the first class; 26 cases of theft or robbery under various circumstances, 1 of forgery, 1 of perjury, 5 of heavy personal assaults; in all, 33 cases of crimes of the second class, and 36 persons condemned for them. Of the third class of crimes, comprehending smaller moral transgressions, along with mere transgressions of conventional laws (such as those against smuggling), there are 132 cases — and 106 persons condemned. But out of this third class (rejecting 27 cases entirely connected with smuggling, and 62 cases punished summarily by fines, and which, not being described, may be considered to have been only police transgressions) we have of the smaller offences or crimes — but which in every country would be more or less visited by penal law — 19 of assault and battery, 13 of excessive or brutal drunkenness, 6 of fornication, 5 of stealing wood out of the forests; in all, 43 cases of this class of moral offence. Thus, in all, 84 offenders have been condemned for acts, which in all countries would be punished as criminal, and are moral offences — being one criminal offender in every

484 persons of the whole population of Gottland, and of these one half nearly, or 41, for crimes of great moral magnitude, and 5 for crimes equivalent to murder. This is not the moral condition of any 40,000 people in Great Britain or Ireland. In Scotland, at least in the island-population with which I am acquainted, there is no such amount of crime, and the numbers of people are about the same as in our smaller counties. I state the details, because here is an isolated distinct portion of the Swedish population: and I can find no error in my conclusion, that bad government, bad legislation, bad social arrangements, are the great demoralising agents in human society; that drunkenness and ignorance are but secondary causes — often effects as well as causes, of a low moral sense — and that there is gross inconsistency in the conduct of the many sincere and good men who wish to diminish immorality and crime, yet oppose all reform or change in political or social institutions.

Here, in Sweden, and in all the north of Europe, three distinct principles seem to be acted upon in applying punishment to crime. In Britain, we recognise but one, the protection of society from similar offences; but on the Continent, a second principle enters into criminal legislation, that of atonement by punishment of the offender for the moral guilt of his offence, without reference to the more or less of injury done to society by such acts. Under this principle, acts not visited with punishment by us are heavily punished abroad. For instance, blasphemy is with us left to the punish-

ment of conscience, and of the contempt of good men. Here I heard this evening of a man of the higher class in the island denounced to the ecclesiastical department of the state, for having uttered some blasphemous joke about the Virgin Mary; a prosecution ordered before the court of the province; and that the case may affect his life, or his liberty for life. "Hadelse mod Gud," or contempt of God, is a crime for which, from 1830 to 1836 inclusive, 14 persons have been condemned to death, or to slavery in chains for life. In this crime, as in treason, government must institute the proceedings; that is, the ecclesiastical department, the minister of state for church affairs, orders the prosecution. It is not, therefore, an old remnant of monkish law working unobserved by government in rare cases; but it is inquisition-law working in the hands of a Lutheran state-church, as strongly as in Spain or Portugal in the hands of a Roman Catholic church. The undefined nature of the crime, which may be twisted so as to comprehend all sorts of religious dissent; the immoral nature of the evidence, which generally must rest upon the espionage of servants or guests, as in the case I heard of; and the guilt itself, which religion takes out of the hands of man, and punishes here or hereafter in its own way, make this no object for human law to deal with in enlightened times. Its retention shows the rude notions of law and its objects, not among the vulgar only, but among the governing class. It is singular enough that what we call blasphemy, that is to say, cursing, swearing, using dreadful oaths and impre-

cations, taking the Lord's name in vain — is nowhere, and in no language, so general and habitual as in Sweden; and not among the lowest class only, but among the middle and higher classes. In common conversation you hear the most horrible oaths and imprecations as ordinary phraseology; and these are never punished, as not affecting the established church or its doctrines. Among us, within these fifty years, this habit of swearing has worn out—has become unfashionable — even among our lowest class, an habitual swearer is rarely met with. Our laws have been wise enough to let it alone, or to visit it with a shilling fine, as *contra bonos mores*, when brought before a court. The crime of "mockery of the public service of God, or contemptuous behaviour during the same," is one rarely heard of in our courts, and when it occurs is punished only as a breach of the peace. Here it is the first in the rubric of the second class of crimes; that is, it comes after murder, blasphemy, sodomy; but before perjury, forgery, or theft. It is evidently a very undefined crime; but is visited with punishment in chains for various terms of years, as a crime against the church establishment. Between 1830 and 1836, not fewer than 242 persons have been condemned to chains for this crime in Sweden. Who will say that the Inquisition was abolished by Luther's Reformation? It has only been incorporated with the state in Lutheran countries, and exercised by the church through the ecclesiastical department of government, in the civil courts, instead of in the church courts. The thing itself re-

mains in vigour. Lord Molesworth was right, when he said that the whole of the northern people of Lutheran countries had lost their liberties ever since they changed their religion for a better.

A class of crimes also, which is here visited with punishment upon the principle of atonement for the moral guilt of the offence, is that of assaults or abuse, of children on parents or guardians, or of wife and husband on each other. With us the party is punished without reference to the moral guilt arising from the relationship, but as a member of society for an assault on another. Here, the son striking the parent, would be condemned to chains for life. It is evident that sound legislation ought not to enter into the moral consideration; for it would require a special law to meet each case. The parent may be only reaping the fruit of his own neglect or vicious example as a father of a family; and, at any rate, it is punishing the parent, wife, or husband, as well as the guilty party; is entering into, and tearing asunder, the ties of private life, relationship, and natural affection, for the sake of a criminal law-case, to strengthen by example of punishment, what requires no aid from the civil power — the bonds of affection between parents and children, or between married persons.

A third principle in awarding punishment, the amendment of the offender, can be but little regarded here, from the expense of classification and separation, where committals are so numerous. It may be doubted, if the principle itself be very sound in legislation. If all delinquents be returned to so-

ciety better, richer — with education, trades, and superior means of living — than when they entered the place of punishment, the main object of deterring from offence by the suffering of the infliction is at least weakened. But if much is not done to improve, much might be avoided here which deteriorates the prisoner. The almost indiscriminate use of the lash, and the legal commutation of the heaviest corporal punishment of this kind into a fine, or the fine, if not paid, into the corporal punishment — so many dollars for so many lashes — is demoralising to a dreadful degree on the mind of the people. It makes, in fact, one law for the rich and another for the poor, and money the equivalent for morality. A host of functionaries, also, about the courts of justice, from the judge himself, downwards, have an interest in the fines, fees, writings, and multiplication of cases of criminal offence. These causes are sufficient to demoralise a nation.

This island will some day be considered the most important political point in the north of Europe. From its geographical position, it is a padlock upon the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which in the hands of an effective power would lock up the Russian navy as in a pond, and secure the free navigation of the Baltic. It is not probable, that a post so important for Russia and for the other European powers will be suffered long to remain in the hands of Sweden. It was rumoured at Stockholm, when the Emperor of Russia so unexpectedly paid a visit this summer to His Swedish Majesty, that some arrangements relative to this island were the secret object of

conference between the crowned heads. According to one report, Sweden, as a counterpoise to the Russian force maintained in the Aland isles, wished to establish a free port under the guarantee of other powers, in the island of Gottland: according to others, England had peremptorily demanded its cession. It is obviously in a position which bridles the power of Russia, as without it she is not mistress of her own Baltic fleet; and it has at Slito, on the west side, and at Capelshamn on the east, harbours, with depth of water, it is said, for ships of war, or at least for steam war vessels; and it is, therefore, the most important point undoubtedly in the north of Europe for Russia to become mistress of. It is not probable that England would desire to occupy an island which it would require ten thousand men to garrison, and a fleet to prevent her garrison being surprised. A free port at Slitohamn, or Capelshamn, would turn out a failure as a commercial enterprise, unless under circumstances of a general war; because, in the ordinary course of commerce, Baltic produce — corn, timber, hemp, flax, iron — either from great bulk, or low value, will not bear transhipments and double charges. Those reports, therefore, circulated at that time, have probably been only a preparatory feeling of the way — a sounding of the Swedish nation's sentiments — in case of a transfer of this island to Russia being proposed. Russia will lick the morsel into shape, and swallow it herself, as she swallowed Finland. The Swedish government, in fact, tempts her to do so; for, in this important outpost of the

kingdom, important to all the commercial powers of Europe as well as to Sweden; from which, in the event of any demonstration against the country from the Aland isles, a similar demonstration to counteract it might be made against Poland, or any weak point of the Russian empire; the only force kept up is a single company of soldiers. The island militia, or conscription, is indeed called out, and all between fifteen and fifty-five years of age enrolled and exercised in summer; but in a flat country, without any circumstances favourable to a guerilla warfare, it is absurd to consider a body of peasants so trained as a sufficient defensive force against regular troops. The Gottlanders, besides, consider and talk of Swedes as foreigners. The communications and ties between the lower classes are too restricted by the privileged system of trade to amalgamate these remote provinces with the main body of the nation, by common interests and feelings. The fortification of the neck of land on the Wetter lake seems to exhaust the defensive policy of the Swedish government. Her old defensive policy — that which led Gustavus Adolphus to Germany, and Charles XII. to Zealand, was to attack, in order not to be attacked.

The climate of Gottland is remarkably mild. The people do not reckon upon having more than eight days of sledge-driving in winter; and here, in latitude $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north, the grape, the white mulberry, and the walnut, ripen in favourable seasons and situations.

There are Runic inscriptions on stones, probably

landmarks, to be found in different places on the island; but one must no longer speak of Runic inscriptions in the north; for since the day when Monkbarns and Edie Ochiltree foregathered at the prætorium, on the kaim of Kinprunes, the antiquarian world has not suffered so severe a shock as on this very subject of Runic lore the other day. At a place called Hoby, between Carshamn and Runamo, in the province of Bleking, there is a Runic inscription on a rock, noticed by Saxo Grammaticus, as *mirandis literarum notis interstincta;* and he tells us his contemporary Waldimar I. of Denmark, who lived in 1160, had sent learned people to decipher it in vain. It remained 500 years unthought of and undeciphered, when Olaus Wormius, and after him many zealous Runic antiquarians, again attempted the task; but time had not made it more intelligible, and nothing could be made of it. At last, in 1805, a Danish antiquary, M. Arendt, made a pilgrimage on foot to this enigmatical inscription, and not being able to read it, he declared it was only a *lusus naturæ* — accidental marks and scratches in the rock. This was intolerable. For nearly thirty years the antiquarian body brooded in silence over this dictum of their recreant brother: at last, in July, 1833, the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen sent a solemn deputation of three of its members, Professors Molbech, Magnuson, and Forchhammer, to the spot; the rock was carefully examined, was found to be a mass of granite-gneiss intersected by a vein of whinstone (or black trap), in which the marks adverted to occur, and to the joy of all of genuine

antiquarian spirit, the inscription was declared to be an inscription, blended, indeed, here and there with accidental cracks and fissures; but an inscription of artificial characters — and the artist who accompanied the commission made an accurate drawing of the whole vein, and the characters traced upon it. Nothing was wanting to complete the joy of all true antiquarians, but that these characters should be deciphered. For ten long months no progress was made. Professor Magnuson, to whom the task was entrusted, could bend them into no form of intelligibility. At last in bed, on the 22d of May, 1834, the idea struck him to try to read the inscription backwards, from right to left. The thing was done — the thing was clear — the inscription was deciphered in two hours. It is in the old northern or Icelandic tongue, and in regular alliterative verse, and must have been cut in the rock shortly previous to the battle of Braavalle, which took place in the year 680, between Harald Hildetand and Ring, kings of certain portions of Sweden. — "Hildetand received the kingdom, — Gard hewed out, — Ole took the oath, — Oden consecrate these runes," &c. &c. Could any thing be more satisfactory, or better established, or more clearly explained? And now, to the dismay of the antiquarian world, steps out a man of acids and alkalies, a chemist, a philosopher; in short, the great Berzelius, coolly proving beyond all doubt, in a paper in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Sciences of Stockholm, that our inscription is, after all, but a *lusus naturæ*, or natural marks or stains on the rock!! Is not this provoking?

I left Gottland with regret: few places are so interesting to the traveller; although the scenery of the island is flat and tame. I was landed at Westerwick, in a few hours, and I set off next morning to cross Sweden. It is observable that all the coast-land of Sweden is bare of soil, the naked rock appearing every where: on other coasts, the soil is deepest on the lowest levels of the land, as the decomposed material of the rocks is in the course of ages washed down from the higher. The reverse being observable here, appears to strengthen the theory of the supposed rise of the land along the coast. The rocks have not been so long exposed to the action of the atmosphere; the decomposition of their felspar into clay is not so far advanced, as on the higher levels of the land, where thicker beds of clay or deposited soils are found in all the valleys. I travelled with a Swedish gentleman who is settled at New York, and had been on a visit to his family in these parts. I find there is a considerable spirit of emigration arising in this country; the people are not satisfied in Sweden with their present state. We slept at a single house, where we were not badly accommodated, and next morning reached Eksio, a small clean town. In this neighbourhood there is a remarkable cleft, rent, or empty vein, described as about the breadth of a highway, bounded on each side by solid walls of rock, of 36 ells high, and the length of the ravine one fourth of a Swedish mile. It is called Storgade — great street: I had passed the road which leads to the place before my post

lad had told me of it. Eksio is about midway between the Baltic and Wettern lake, and the elevation of the country here above the sea is about 530 feet. On this level the country consists of long plains of heath, which have fertile spots, and the land towards the Wetter is very fine, and seems cultivated in large farms. The neighbourhood of Jonkioping (pronounced Jonchiping) is the nearest in soil and cultivation to the appearance around an English town, of any place I have seen in Sweden. It stands on a large bay of the lake, which is here so extensive that, looking out to seaward from the pier (a substantial handsome work), no land is in sight in the horizon to the north, except an island of 14 miles in length. The word kioping, which is pronounced chipping, and is appended to the names of many towns hereabouts, means a market place, or town privileged for country trade; and is the word used in some English names of towns. Chipping Norton, is precisely Norkioping. Taberg, the mountain of iron ore, that is, of an iron-stone, containing about 25 per cent. of iron, therefore not a very rich ore, is about 14 miles from Jonkioping. It is at the end of the ridge of the west side of the basin of the Wetter, and in some points of view is strikingly like Salisbury Craig and Arthur's Seat seen in one. It is 1032 feet above sea level, but 365 feet only above the stream Mansarpa at its base. It is a mass of greenstone resting on gneiss, with magnetic iron ore disseminated through it, and also in beds. The grand feature of this part of the country is the

Wetter lake, 86 miles in length, and not 16 in breadth at the broadest part. Its surface is said to be 295 feet above the level of the Baltic; and it is 70 fathoms deep in some places. This would make its lowest bottom to be on the same level nearly as that of the Baltic, where it is 20 fathoms deep; the greatest depth in the Baltic is 145 fathoms; and between Gottland and the main coast from 40 to 50 fathoms are the usual soundings. It would be very interesting to discover where the primary rock of the Swedish coast ends and the Gottland formation begins, by the appearance of the gravel, &c. on the lead in sounding.

The country between the Wetter and the Wenner, which I passed in two days, is not hilly, but consists of an elevated, flat, heathy plain, with some depressions on it of fertile soil, and no great elevations above it. The people in this tract appear badly off, having no fuel but peat of a poor quality, and no building timber for good habitations. The wind seems to sweep unbroken over this tract. It is about 500 feet above the sea level. I slept at Lyng, a single house in the midst of a sandy tract of heath, as the name implies. The word lyng is still used in Scotland for heath. In descending towards the Wenner, imperceptibly the soil improves; oaks are remarkably fine; and the country falls into a fertile plain, bounded by a strange unconnected-looking large feature; a ridge or hill rising suddenly from the plain on one side, and the Wenner lake on the other. This is Kinnekulle, a mass of sandstone, alum-slate, limestone, and clay-slate

beds, resting on the primary rock, and about 700 feet above the level of the lake, which is 130 feet above the sea. In the limestone of this mountain there are fossil remains of the orthoceratite and other extinct molluscæ.

In the country from the Baltic to this town, the people are not to be compared to those in the north in appearance, or in the comforts they enjoy. Their houses are poor and decaying; fuel seems scarce; to every chimney there is a damper or board, to shut upon the top of the vent outside, and which is opened or shut by a lever. This damper keeps in the heat, and is let down after the gas has escaped, and the fumes of the charcoal are no longer deadly. It keeps in the heat certainly, and saves fire-wood. The same principle is adopted in the stoves of the best rooms in Stockholm, and the saving of fuel is incredible. It is reckoned there that one and a half fathom will, with economy, keep a room warm for the winter. I doubt if six will do so in Norway, where the heat escapes with the smoke up the flue: but what is saved in firing is lost in health. The close atmosphere of the rooms thus sealed up, and without circulation, must be very unwholesome; and the children, bred like plants in a hot-house, want the vigour of other children. It is not an old custom which may be vindicated by the *more majorum*, from the doubt of its salubrity; for the stove with a damper has only been introduced within these 60 years. Of old the fire was on the hearth. The feeble constitutions of the female sex in Stockholm, who often are really unable to nurse their

children, is attributed to the debility produced by living the whole winter in an over-heated and unwholesome atmosphere.

Between the south end of the Wenner and the Glommen the country consists of unconnected hillocks of bare gneiss or granite, and little dales between, in which the inhabitants cultivate what soil is to be found. Of rolled or erratic blocks, few are seen here, compared to the tract between the north end of the Wenner and the Glommen. The most remarkable feature in this tract of country is the deposits of shells of the existing species, found in great abundance near Uddevalla, at the farms of Jammored, Bracke, and Capellbacke, at 150 feet above the present sea level. There is an observation of the Swedish naturalists, I believe of the celebrated geologist Hisenger, which determines, I think, the question of the rise of the land, or the diminution of the sea, in accounting for these ancient sea beaches so far above the present sea level. It is, that the shells found at Uddevalla, Trollhœtta, and other parts on the west, or ocean side of the peninsula; as also those at Fossum in the Drontheim Fiord — are all oceanic shells, without any of those peculiar to the brackish waters of the Baltic: while those found at Stockholm, Upsala, Hernosand, and other places on the Baltic side of the peninsula, are all Baltic shells, without any admixture of those oceanic shells not to be found in the Baltic at the present day. But, if the sea had ever been 189½ feet higher than it now is, which is the height of the bed of sea-shells at Capellbacke,

above the sea level, the waters of the Baltic and of the ocean must have been the same in saltness; for the whole country, from the coast of Norway to the Hartz almost, must, with the exception of a few high points as islands, have been under water, and the Baltic filled from the ocean, by its whole breadth, instead of by the small openings, the Sound and Belt. The animals on both sides of the peninsula must have been of the same species. The land must have left the sea, therefore—not the sea the land — to account for the fact of their diversity; and the difference in the relation of land and sea must have been local, and not extending to the general shape of the land. The Baltic must have been always so enclosed by the land as to be a brackish inland sea, not adapted to the oceanic molluscæ at the time when parts of the land were two hundred feet nearly below their present elevation.

On crossing the frontier at Swinesund, one of those long narrow inlets of the sea or clefts in the rock, which are characteristic of the peninsula, the traveller sees at once that he is among a different people: the soil and farming worse; but every thing in order — the sticks even on the road-side marking out the portions of road to be kept up by each farmer, painted white and red, and neatly lettered and numbered: the bridges, rails, fences, in a finished state; the houses in good repair; a spirit of conservation every where visible. At the falls of the Glommen there is an extensive establishment of saw-mills; and an activity and

order which show that English capital and enterprise are at work there.

I arrived at Moss, a small town on the side of the Christiana fiord, which is frequented in summer for sea-bathing by all the *beau-monde* of Christiana; and crossing the fiord at Droback, reached Drammen, the point from which I set out on this tour in Sweden.

CHAPTER IX.

SWEDISH POLICY TO BE STUDIED IN NORWAY. — SUPPOSED COUP D'ETAT IN 1836. — WHY UNSUCCESSFUL. — CONSERVATIVE POWER OF THE CIVIL INSTITUTIONS. — STORTHING. — PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS. — STATE OF DENMARK AND NORWAY UNDER OPPOSITE SYSTEMS OF LEGISLATION. — PUBLIC DEBT OF DENMARK — OF NORWAY. — DIRECT TAXES. — POST-OFFICE TRANSMISSION OF NEWSPAPERS IN NORWAY. — FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS. — NORWEGIAN NEWSPAPERS. — EDITORIAL TALENT. — POLITICAL ECONOMY. — WINTER OF 1836 IN CHRISTIANA. — SOCIETY. — HOUSES. — FURNITURE. — ENJOYMENTS OF THE LOWER CLASSES. — COLD. — CALMNESS. — MONTAGNES RUSSES. — PEASANTS' COSTUME. — FEASTS. — COFFEE AND SUGAR, OR MILK, THE BEST BREAKFAST FOR A NATION? — DEAD BEAR. — LYNX. — ENVIRONS. — SHAPE OF PENINSULA.

Sweden, cut off territorially and politically from the other European states, has no other field in which her government and statesmen can exert their influence but Norway; — it is in her transactions with that country that the spirit and principle on which she acts are displayed. I passed the winter of 1836 in Christiana, and great part of the year 1837, and shall condense the various observations I then made on the political relations of the two countries, as more illustrative of the policy and affairs of Sweden during the present reign, than the more hasty memoranda of the traveller.

The sudden dissolution of the Norwegian storthing, in June, 1836, without any reasonable

motive or object that could be divined — in the midst of unfinished public business; the budget not passed; and many important acts only in progress through its committees — was viewed by the liberals of the north of Europe as a little *coup d'etat* in its way, made in the secret expectation that the irritation and excitement which it could not fail to produce in the public mind would lead to acts or expressions of the storthing or the people, which would furnish a plausible pretext for the interference of the executive government, and for the remodelling of this democratic constitution on principles more agreeable to the Swedish aristocracy, and to the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance into whose arms the Swedish monarch has thrown himself. It was not to be endured that a country which the Swedish nobles consider a province given to Sweden as a compensation for Finland, and to be governed on Swedish principles for Swedish interests and account, should have maintained its independence, and be flourishing so remarkably under its own legislation, without privileged orders or hereditary legislators; without Swedish help, or interference in its internal affairs; the executive power, invested with a suspensive veto only, and storthing after storthing rejecting unanimously the royal propositions for investing the King with the sole initiative in making laws, and with an absolute veto. It was even whispered, that the visit of the late Swedish minister of state, Count Wetterstedt, to London and Paris, during the summer of 1836, on account of his health, was

not to mend his own constitution only, but the Norwegian — to sound the great powers who guarantee the independent existence and free institutions of Norway, as a kingdom united under one crown with Sweden; whether, if plausible pretext from internal tumult were given, an interference with the independence of Norway as a state, or with the ground principles of its constitution, would be permitted. If such a *coup* was intended, it failed from the confidence of the nation in the conservative power of its civil establishments.

In France a *coup d'etat* succeeds — the limited monarchy of to-day is a despotism to-morrow; and a republic before Saturday night — because the whole machinery of a government, all the functionaries, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, depend entirely upon the executive power, whatever it may be, and whether acting constitutionally or not. They are in the hands, and at the mercy, of the power of the day for their daily bread, and at its good will, for their future professional advancement; — the nation has nothing between it and misgovernment, or aggression on its freedom, but the fear of tumult and popular commotion. But in Norway, the public functionary, from the lowest clerk to the highest dignitary, has his defined rights connecting him with the legislative, as much as his duties with the executive, branch of the state: he cannot be displaced but by the sentence of a court of law: he cannot even be removed from one locality to another against his will: his salary cannot be diminished, and he has a legal

claim to its augmentation if his duties are increased: he cannot be passed over at the pleasure of the executive in his just turn for advancement. All vacancies in every department under government must be advertised in the *Gazette*, and all candidates must send in their claims to fill the vacancy, with the certificates of their length of service, abilities, characters; and if the place be in the church, or other of the learned professions, of their academical examinations, and standing in the university. All the grounds of claim are examined and judged of by the heads of the department to which the vacant office belongs, and they recommend the candidates they find best entitled. But this recommendation is not left to the unchecked will and pleasure of the heads of departments: they must keep a regular protocol of the claims and certificates laid before them, and of their reasons for giving the preference to the candidates they recommend. This protocol must be laid before each storthing, of which a committee audits, as it were, all appointments, checks even in the lowest offices any injustice, favouritism, or nepotism, and makes its report to the storthing; which, in case of any flagrantly unjust or corrupt appointment, would impeach the heads of the department before the *rigsret* court — a branch of the state independent of the executive. The publicity, also, of all these protocols, makes public opinion a powerful check upon undue patronage or private influence. A *coup d'etat* against a constitution so well guarded is impracticable, as an executive attempt-

ing to govern in a spirit contrary to the constitutional law, would not find instruments to carry on, even for a day, its orders or business; and the people, having their public functionaries responsible to them for their proceedings, are, with this responsibility to rely upon, not driven to tumults or conspiracies upon every indication of the desire of the executive to interfere with their constitution. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the dissolution of the storthing, which attracted so much attention in the north of Europe, was really intended as a *coup d'etat*, or was simply an ebulition of aristocratical and royal impatience and irritation. Before its dissolution, of which a previous notice of twenty-four hours must be given, the storthing required the protocol of the council of state to be laid before it; and finding that the president, or minister of state for Norwegian affairs at Stockholm, had not protested against the measure, as the other members of council had done, the storthing, by a unanimous vote, ordered this minister to be impeached, for not entering his protest in the protocol against the royal determination. The proceeding was so strictly regular and constitutional, that it could not be parried. The *rigsret* court constituted itself, which it does *suo jure*, without requiring a warrant from the executive; and after hearing long and able pleadings, found the indictment relevant: the trial proceeded, and the minister was declared guilty of neglect of duty to the country, in not protesting against a resolution of the executive de-

trimental to the public interest, and subjected to a fine; the legal punishment for such neglect. The storthing, with great moderation and adroitness, had laid the indictment for the minor offence of neglect of duty in not protesting against what might possibly have been a hasty personal determination of the King himself — for, occasionally, this monarch wishes to govern as well as to reign, — and thus avoided a direct collision with the executive power, yet sufficiently vindicated the constitutional principle of the responsibility of ministers for the acts of the sovereign.

These affairs, I am aware, will appear very small and unimportant in England, because they relate to a small and poor nation; but as marking the progress and developement of just ideas of constitutional government in Europe; as showing the firmness, temperate spirit, and judgment, with which a representative body — elected by the people at large, and possessing only the common qualifications of good sense and ordinary education — can act in difficult and trying situations, and how completely in the short period of twenty years a nation becomes imbued with sound principles of constitutional government, they will probably not appear uninteresting to the political philosopher. The Norwegian constitution is a bright spark on the Continent, which arbitrary power would gladly extinguish, and which England should watch over and protect. It is delivering to the old European governments a practical answer to their assumed principle, that a people cannot legislate for them-

selves — that an hereditary order of nobility, a privileged body of clergy, an influence of personal wealth, and an ascendency of the executive, are essential parts of a legislative system. The Norwegian nation are even proving, that a people free from those influences, do not run into extremes with parties and cabals, or act under a spirit of innovation or revolution, but, on the contrary, are averse to great or sudden changes even of obvious evils; retaining, for example, at present many of the absurd and impolitic restrictions on the freedom of trade and industry inherited from Denmark, and following gradually, instead of outstripping, the spirit and wants of the mass of the community in their legislation. Modern history presents few events so instructive to posterity as the kind of experimental trial, as it may be called, between the purely monarchical principle, and the purely liberal or democratical, which has been going on during the last twenty years between Denmark and Norway. The government of Denmark is purely monarchical, that of Norway more democratical than any other constitution in Europe; and twenty-one years ago both countries started with an equalised public debt, and equally exhausted by the calamities of war. On the separation of Norway from the Danish crown, the latter justly claimed that a fair proportion of the common public debt of the two countries should be taken over by Norway. This claim was sanctioned by the allied powers; and as it was virtually a recognition by them of Norway, as a self-existing independent state, and not a

mere province or part of Sweden, and was in itself just, it was acceded to by the storthing. The Danish government had no reason to make their claim for less than Norway's fair proportion of the common debt, adjusted according to the respective means and resources of the two countries. Thus both nations started twenty-one years ago, with equal debt in proportion to their property and population; but Norway with the disadvantage of having to form every thing required in an independent state, all the head departments of its former government having been concentrated in Copenhagen — Denmark with the advantages not only of superior climate, soil, and capital, but of having all civil and military establishments already formed. What have been the results of legislation on these two distinct principles of government, after a course of twenty-one years of uninterrupted peace? Norway has paid off all her debt except 3,127,771 Norwegian dollars — due principally within the country, and not redeemable; has formed military, naval, and civil establishments suitable to her condition; has regularly diminished the taxes in proportion to the reduction of her debt; and in the one and twentieth year, has been able to take off the direct taxes on property altogether — finding the indirect taxes sufficient to cover the expenditure, with a sufficiently large surplus. Denmark, during the same period, has augmented her public debt to about, it is conjectured — for on the monarchical principle these are not matters laid clearly before the public — the sum of 127 millions

of Danish rix dollars; has every year had an under balance, or excess of expenditure above income, of 1½ millions, and at the very time the Norwegian storthing was paying off the last of its foreign loans and debts that were redeemable, and relieving the people from all direct taxes on their land; — Baron Rothschild arrived in Copenhagen. These are striking results from legislation lodged entirely with the people, and legislation lodged entirely with the crown.

It was necessary to call together an extraordinary storthing to proceed with the public business, so unaccountably interrupted by this dissolution. Government was probably alarmed at the false step it had taken; — for surely it was a false step for a monarch at the age of 73, and the first of his race invested with royal dignity, to excite irritation and doubt in the minds of a million of people, united as one man upon all that regards their constitution and national independence, and rendered, by a series of petty aggressions upon the equality of their country in the union, suspicious of every unusual measure of the executive power. A Norwegian, as a token of conciliatory spirit, was appointed stadtholder, an office which when filled had been formerly always conferred on a Swedish nobleman to the great annoyance of the Norwegian nation. The extraordinary storthing consists of the same members as the previous regular storthing: it is only an extraordinary meeting of it; but with the difference that the ordinary storthing sits, *suo jure*, once every three years, and every member has the

right of *initiative*, or of proposing and discussing what he thinks proper; the extraordinary is assembled by the King, for a special purpose, and can only treat of what is specially laid before it; which, in this case, was necessarily all the unfinished business. The members, probably, did not return in very good humour to their labours; but they showed great moderation and good taste, in avoiding any allusions to the recent events. The only reference to their dissolution — and it was the most severe reproof of the measure that could have been given — was, that they took up every branch of the public business exactly where it had been interrupted, appointed the same committees, and held all that had been already gone through before their dissolution, as so much of their public duty performed. The committees appointed by these peasant parliament-men investigate the accounts and expenditure of every department very keenly; not a dollar unauthorised or unaccounted for escapes their notice; the balances due to or in the hands of each department are included in the supplies for its next expenditure; in short, on the public accounts, they are so many Joseph Humes incarnate. The reason, indeed, given for their sudden dissolution was, that they were wasting time in trifling and minute investigations; and it is probable, that these sturdy legislators wearied the patience of those born to the business, and were not flying through the public affairs with sufficient speed for the cabinet. With their minute economy they have accomplished much in

twenty-one years; and it is not a parsimony equally blind to all objects. They provided liberally for some things which we would not expect to find proposed, or favoured, in a parliament so constituted: — a steam-vessel, for instance, to ply between Drontheim and Hammerfest; which will be the first appearance of steam-power within the arctic circle; a grant for enabling students and men of science to travel for improvement in foreign countries; a grant for establishing schools of design for mechanics, and for gradually forming a collection of works of art connected with that object; grants to the university, its library, and museum; a grant for a seminary for forming schoolmasters; — these objects, liberally provided for, considering the means of the country, show no unenlightened spirit; no inaptitude at least in the storthing, to adopt the enlightened views of its most cultivated members. Although elected by the peasantry, it does not consist of peasantry: there are men on its benches who keep pace with the age, in literature, and political knowledge. Sorenson, Hielm, Riddervold, Foss, Jenssens, Rye, and many others, are gentlemen as highly educated, and possessed of as much information and eloquence, as any who now sit in the British parliament. The reduction of the *scatt*, or direct taxes on land, was a very important step taken by this storthing, and the arguments for and against direct taxation, and the opinions of Macculloch and other political economists on the subject, were ably stated in the debates. It was admitted that the indirect taxes

sufficiently covered the expenses of government; and it is a proof of the comfortable condition of this population that the taxes on their superfluities do so; — but the policy of altogether taking off the direct taxes on property was questioned, as they could not, if totally abolished, be easily again resorted to. It was argued by the majority, that a direct tax on land or houses was unjust in principle; that it made the owners in fact the tax-payers for the other classes of the community; and, even allowing they have their repayment in the increased price of their produce, so that ultimately the tax falls in reality on the consumers the public, still they have to advance it in the first place, — which in itself is unjust, and often ruinous to small proprietors, who cannot sell their produce in sufficient time or quantity to pay what is not merely their own quota towards the revenue, but an advance for others. The effects of direct taxation on the habits of a people, were also stated to be injurious. It comes to the same thing in money, whether a man pays twelve skillings every day in the additional price of his coffee, sugar, tobacco, spirits, and other articles, in consequence of the duties, or whether he pays thirty-six dollars a year of direct tax, and has these articles duty free. But it is of very different effect on the moral and economical habits of the man, whether this sum be taken once or twice a year out of his savings; thereby lessening the value of and his pleasure in habits of saving and industry — or whether it be taken gradually out of his spendings; thereby add-

ing to his inducement to and pleasure in habits of frugality and prudence; and applied to a whole people, this moral effect of indirect taxes is not to be overlooked. It is curious to see a state in a condition to apply such principles to its affairs, unencumbered with all the complicated interests and considerations, which in other countries make the application difficult, and even the benefit of returning from a wrong to a right principle doubtful. The storthing could not have taken a more politic step than abolishing the direct taxes, if their dissolution was an indication that the whole constitution is looked upon with an evil eye by the Swedish cabinet, and some change in it contemplated. They at once brought the benefits of their constitution home to the small landholders, and householders, by so important an improvement in their condition, and engaged the interests, as well as the national feelings, of the people on its side.

The freedom of the press on the Continent would be of little use if not accompanied by the freedom of the post, or the right of transmitting by post, on moderate and fixed terms, newspapers and other periodical publications. The press may be as effectually shackled in the post-office, as in the printing-house. In the powers lately given by our Legislature to the postmaster-general and first lord of the treasury, to determine, without appeal, what stamped publication shall or shall not be deemed a newspaper entitled to free transmission by post, a power has been erected altogether inconsistent with a free press, and one which, under a different

ministry, might be exercised as a censorship for preventing the free circulation of political opinion. In Germany a control is exercised over the foreign, the English and French, as well as over the home press, by admitting some newspapers and excluding others in the post-office transmission, according to their political tendency. This storthing put an end to such power in Norway over the foreign and domestic press; and there appears so much good sense, and such a spirit of moderation in their enactments, that these might furnish our own government with useful hints. The transmission by post of all newspapers, periodical publications, or printed papers below a certain weight, is made matter of right to the subjects, upon payment of a fixed rate of yearly postage: this rate is determined by the act, in certain proportions to the subscription-price of the publication for the year; the rate of postage decreasing in proportion as this price exceeds the yearly cost of an ordinary daily newspaper. A daily Norwegian newspaper, seven in the week, costs the subscribers yearly 6 dollars, or 24 shillings sterling; there being no excise-duty on paper, nor stamp-duty on publications. The act fixes the yearly postage at one fifth of the yearly subscription-price for the first 5 dollars, $\frac{1}{10}$th for the next 5 dollars, $\frac{1}{15}$th for the next 5 dollars, and $\frac{1}{20}$th for the next 5 dollars; and which is the maximum rate for all higher-priced publications. A daily Norwegian newspaper, according to this tariff, pays yearly for its transmission by post 1 dollar 12 skillings, or about 4 shillings and $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence

sterling; and for this postage is transmitted to any part of the kingdom. A French newspaper — which is perhaps the most expensive that comes to the country, as the English are generally the weekly papers — costs yearly in subscription-price 33 dollars; and would, according to this tariff, pay as postage 2 dollars 88 skillings, or about 10 shillings and 11 pence sterling. This postage is paid along with the subscription-money, or cost of the newspaper, in advance to the postmaster — who in fact becomes the newsman or agent — and he receives from the publisher, by each post, the number of copies required within his post delivery: the copies come to him consequently in quires, as it is technically called, direct from the printing-office; by which arrangement there is an immense saving of package and weight, compared to our mode of sending each paper by itself in an envelope, loosely rolled up — an immense saving of time and labour in reading and sorting directions; as the postmaster has only to deliver a sheet, from the quire of the particular newspaper, to each subscriber for it on his list — and no possibility of the fraudulent use of newspapers for carrying on private correspondence, as each subscriber or party receiving a newspaper gets one out of the general mass of the copies of that newspaper, and not any particular copy. The frauds on our post-office revenue by corresponding through newspapers are enormous in amount, and without check or remedy; as the party to whom a newspaper, with writing in it, is addressed, cannot

be obliged to receive it and pay postage for it, the party writing can seldom be detected, and the understanding, by previous agreement between parties sending newspapers, of the meaning of signs, dots, marks, is beyond all detection. Some modification of this plan of post-office transmission might possibly be adopted with advantage: the newspaper press would gain by it, as the subscriptions would be paid in advance to agents of the best description, the established postmasters, and their agency paid by the subscribers, not by the publishers. By the Norwegian act, one half of the yearly postage is appropriated to the postmasters, as their remuneration for the trouble of thus receiving and distributing the newspapers, and acting as the newsmen or agents for the periodical press; the other half goes towards defraying the general expense of the carriage of the mails. The only power left to the executive in this judicious act is that of altogether remitting this latter half of the postage, in favour of any publications which government might wish to patronise. The difference of price which such a remission would occasion at these rates of postage was considered too unimportant to give any practical advantage in circulation to any newspaper, favoured by government; and many useful publications — such as the *Penny Magazine*, the official *Gazettes*, the *Prices Current*, &c. — might be aided by such exemption. The power of doing good was left to the executive, but not of doing evil.

The state of the periodical press in a country is a barometer of the public mind. The following list

of the different newspapers which pass through the Norwegian post-office, is in this view, I conceive, very interesting, although imperfect. Considering the small and scattered population, it indicates no low degree of intelligence * : —

7	different	Danish	newspapers,	yearly cost from	5 to 7 dol.
10	ditto	German	ditto	ditto —	9 to 21 —
2	ditto	Dutch	ditto	ditto —	19 to 28 —
3	ditto	French	ditto	ditto —	33 —
2	ditto	English (Spectator and Lloyd's List)			17 to 20 —
24	ditto	Norwegian, ditto ; two of which daily			1 to 6 —
8	ditto	Norwegian periodicals, not political			1 to 4 —

The Norwegian publications, although the lowest in price, are superior in the material of the press, type, and paper, to the German, Dutch, or French papers. In editorial talent, few of our English newspapers equal them in one respect: being lookers-on rather than parties in the political affairs of the world, their periodical writers have the advantage of distance in taking their views, see things in the proper proportions, and are not so apt as our newspaper editors, to mistake the part for the whole, or the incident for the principal subject. For a rapid and even masterly sketch of the politics of other countries, giving the just place and importance to parties and events, few of our newspapers equal the Norwegian — for instance, the Handelsblad. A better summary even of our par-

* In all Germany the numbers of different periodical journals which pass through the post-office is stated to be 666, newspapers included.

liamentary debates is given in the Norwegian daily newspapers, the Morgenblad, and the Constitutionelle, than in most of our own provincial newspapers; and in the chaos of South American or of Spanish affairs, they carry a steadier light before their readers than any of our journalists. The editors, or *publicists*, as continental newspaper editors call themselves, are, as a class, of much higher authority with the public on the Continent in all matters of political science, and historical or statistical knowledge, than the editors of our newspapers are with us. If they are, as a body, men of higher acquirements as well as of higher authority, it would be impossible for a traveller to ascertain:— they write for a different public. The readers of newspapers on the Continent are almost entirely of the educated class, on whose suffrage the character and success of a journal must depend; and it is reasonable to suppose, that those who write for them must bring greater information and acquirements to the editing of a periodical paper, than are sufficient with us who are parties taking such a lively interest in the scene as covers all defects in the reasonings or representations of the newspapers of our own side of politics. On the other hand, this very excitement of party strikes out more talent, wit, and originality of views, in a single column of one of our newspapers, than could be found in a whole file of any continental periodical.

The rapid diffusion of correct ideas in political economy which is going on in every country at present — and perhaps more rapidly abroad than in Bri-

tain, from this being the only free field for the public mind to expatiate in — shows the beneficial power of a periodical press, conducted by enlightened men.

The harvest in Norway having failed almost entirely in consequence of early frost in autumn, government gave orders, as a precautionary measure, for the purchase of a considerable quantity of grain in the Baltic ports for the relief of the distressed districts. Twenty years ago this would have been considered, in the most enlightened countries of Europe, as a wise and beneficial measure; and the parental care of government would have been lauded by all classes. The British government, in 1812, took similar measures for alleviating the scarcity and high price of grain; and even in this year, although government took no part in the measure, the charitable feelings of the British public attempted to remedy the local scarcity and high price of meal in the highlands and islands of Scotland, where the grain crops had likewise failed, by furnishing grain at a cheap rate, by subscription, to the distressed districts. In Norway there was but one opinion about the policy of this measure of its government — that it was the surest way to starve the people, as neither foreign nor native merchants could venture to send corn to a market in which government was ready with a stock to undersell them, and disappoint their speculations. The common sense of a people, so nearly equal in circumstances that no class is wealthy enough to feed another class, either from the taxes or from charitable contributions, came at

once to the just conclusion, that the interference of government with the natural course of demand and supply would only aggravate the scarcity; and this opinion was so loudly and generally expressed, that government had to withdraw the measure, as far as possible, and sit down with a lesson in political economy from the voice of the nation. It is the first time perhaps that such a measure adopted by a government, instead of thanks and praises, met, even from the most ignorant, with disapprobation. It shows the spread of intelligence in political economy.

The stranger passes the winter very agreeably in Christiana. Being the seat of the departments of government, of the higher courts of law, of the university, and of a considerable foreign trade, it contains a greater proportion of the educated and refined classes, and of people of literary tastes, who follow the progress of science in other countries, than any town in Britain of equal population. Christiana reckons only 24,000 inhabitants. The quarter inhabited by the higher classes, and those who live by them, is laid out regularly, and in spacious and even handsome streets. The houses are of brick, each built round an open square court, so that no great front is presented to the street: it is seldom that one family occupies the whole of the premises. The entry from the street into the court is by a carriage door; and the house doors of the different families open into this court, and on the upper floor into open galleries round the court—as in some of our old inns in London.

The whole hotel, or square of building, is called a *gaard*, and is generally one property; and from the great number of public functionaries, lawyers, and others, who must dwell near to their places of business, these are valuable estates. From two to three hundred dollars is a common rent for the front house, and from one to two hundred for the other family houses of the *gaard*. The middle and lower classes are much better lodged in proportion than the higher, as they live in the suburbs, in which log houses are not prohibited. In the town itself no new building of wood is permitted. The log house is a cheaper, and is generally considered a warmer, and more wholesome habitation than the brick building. There are no ancient edifices in Christiana. The old town of Opslo is now a suburb; but has probably consisted only of wooden buildings. Its church is of stone work; but neither it nor the other churches of Christiana show any trace of antiquity in the style of building. Of modern buildings, there are none that strike the traveller, from their dimensions or style, as being either in good taste or bad taste; from which I presume they are in the best taste of all—without pretension or attempt. A palace for the royal residence, when the King visits Norway, is just roofed-in. It is situated a little way out of the town; and is quite such a palace as Cobbett would have built — a sensible, plain, brown brick building, spacious enough to accommodate a sovereign and a court, suitably and proportionably to the kingdom; —but not a Versailles: not like the palaces

of some of the little German princes; so large that the palace hides the territory. The manners and mode of living of the upper classes in Christiana are those of the same classes every where else. It is not in the cultivated society of which every member is acquainted with the languages, literature, and customs of various countries, and has visited and resided in other parts of Europe, that peculiarities of their own country are prominent. There is generally one evening of the week on which a family is always "at home:"—no special invitation, after the first, is expected to this *soirée*. Their acquaintances call, walk about, converse, have cards, music, dancing, sometimes take tea, lemonade, stay supper, or go away; in short, a traveller, transported by the fairies some fine winter night across the north sea, from an evening party in Princes Street in Edinburgh, to one in Prindsen's Gade in Christiana, would scarcely know—if he had caught cold enough in his flight to be deaf to the difference of language—that he had changed the scene. The principal difference that would strike his eye, is the greater simplicity in the furniture of apartments. The English fire-place, with its marble mantlepiece, its lively-coloured hearth-rug, polished steel grate, fender, and appurtenances, and a blazing fire in the midst of all these bright things, is more ornamental than the dull stove in a room—for fire gives an agreeable effect even to the most dreary place—although the stove, if the least showy, is in reality the more comfortable inmate of the two to live with. The English carpet,

too, is a lively ornament, independent of its comfort, which the traveller's eye misses on the Continent as much as his feet. In Norway there is more feeling for the carpet, than in France or Germany: people do not spit all about the floors, as in those countries; and door-mats, scrapers, and clogs, to go over the boots in dirty weather (and which are slipped off by the visiter in the lobby), show not merely that carpets might exist, but that there is a kindly regard and respect for female labour, and for the nicety which the sex prizes in the household. It is the duty on foreign woollens — which, by their old tariff, is paid by the weight — which prevents the general use of carpets in Norway; and it is the obstinacy of the storthing or of the King, which prevents a new custom-house tariff instead of the old. The storthing will have a clause in the bill, that the Norwegian custom-houses and custom-house vessels shall use the Norwegian flag, which is red with a white cross; the King insists on the use of the union flag, which is the Swedish blue, with a yellow cross, and a small bit of red in one corner to denote the Norwegian part in it; and about this and such idle points, affecting the symbols of their national independence, a monarch, reputed wise, is keeping alive a jealous feeling in Norway, which generations of his dynasty will not allay; and is establishing more firmly the reality of that independence, of which the unimportant exterior symbols are attempted to be suppressed. All furniture that we have of mahogany, such as tables,

sofas, chairs, is here of a very handsome material—the wood of the Fjelde birch tree; and in shape, workmanship, and beauty, is not exceeded by ours.

The way of living of the middle and lower classes in this town struck me as more remarkable than that of the higher: their tastes and social enjoyments come close up to those of the higher classes, and are the same in kind. Visiting each other, drawing, music, cards, assemblies, do not, either in England or Scotland, enter into the usual social enjoyments of our lower or even middle class: there is neither time nor relish for them in the poor man's family, nor even in the thriving man's. But here all follow these enjoyments from taste: these classes have their public balls, entertainments, and even masquerades. With us such meetings of the lower orders would be scenes of tumult and riot, frequented only by the idle and profligate: the peace-officer would, in the end, be the master of the ceremonies. Here young persons of both sexes, of unblemished reputation, belonging to the middle and lower classes, frequent them as freely and innocently as those of the higher class do their public entertainments; decorum and propriety are as strictly observed, and improper characters as carefully excluded. There is no evil peculiarly attached to these enjoyments from the low rank or conduct of the parties: if evil there be, it is common to all such enjoyments, whether followed by high or low. Is this community of tastes among the different classes of society, of good or bad tendency? If these enjoy-

ments be good for one class, they must, I conceive, be good for another: they have, undoubtedly, their humanising effects on the character and manners; — their diffusion among all serve to knit together the different classes by one common mode of living. It is a dangerous fault in the structure of society in Britain, that the higher and lower classes have too little in common with each other — too few points of contact: their enjoyments, occupations, modes of living, and amusements, are so distinct, that they live like different tribes accidentally inhabiting together the same land. It is perhaps the weightiest objection to the late alteration in the administration of the poor laws; and to the proposed alterations in the establishment of the grand juries, and of the local unpaid county-magistracy, that these three links — bad as they are said to be — alone connect the upper with the lower classes in England, by some kinds of common business and interests. Cut these away, and perform such business by paid functionaries, and the whole body of English gentry might fly up to the moon some evening in Mr. Green's balloon, and not be missed by the other classes. A participation in the same tastes, and the same kinds of social enjoyments and modes of living, would raise the lower class to a higher level in the scale of civilisation, and connect the parts of the social body more firmly together. The evil of such an improvement in the tastes and habits of the lower class is, that in the unhappy condition into which the financial difficulties of almost every govern-

ment has plunged the great body of the people; the expense of what is necessary for the bare existence of a family is so great, that the most innocent enjoyments must be restrained — and even rare and moderate indulgence on the part of the labouring man is imprudence. This evil, however, does not belong to the diffusion of refined tastes and enjoyments, but to the effects of excessive taxation, and of a faulty distribution of property in society; — the mass of the community is obliged to make it the main object of life merely to live, not to enjoy. It is a curious and lamentable truth that, in this poor country — not producing, even in ordinary years, the corn it consumes by 200,000 quarters — there is, by the better distribution of property, and the better financial state of the government, a much greater share of the enjoyments of life, and of a more refined kind, among the middle and lower classes, than in Britain with all her wealth.

The winter was unusually early and severe in Norway. In many places the standing corn was overwhelmed with snow: on the higher grounds, the pools of water were covered with ice in September before the crops were filled. In October snow began to fall abundantly, and winter was fairly set in. The severest cold was on New Year's eve, when the thermometer showed 22½ degrees of cold, or 40½ degrees, below the freezing point of our scale. From 9 to 12 degrees of cold was the ordinary temperature. When the cold of the atmosphere is below the freezing point

of water, it seems to affect the fluidity of the air, to freeze the wind itself, and produce long and steady calm. It is this winter calm when the cold has set in, which makes it practicable to prosecute the great cod fishery in open boats in the Lafoden isles within the arctic circle, in the months of January and February, and allows open boats from the Russian ports in the White Sea to come round the North Cape at that season to the fishery. In lower latitudes, open boats could not keep the sea at that season; nor could man endure the cold, although much less intense. But the calmness of the air induced by extreme cold is a kind of natural safe-guard protecting animal life against its severity; for in the calm of a degree of cold near the freezing point of mercury, the abstraction of heat from our bodies is going on much less rapidly, and we are actually feeling less, and are less injured from the cold, than if we were exposed to a brisk wind at a much higher temperature. Such a hard winter is considered here a blessing next to a good crop: — the fisherman gets out to sea; the landsman gets his timber out of the depths of the forest; and the most pathless districts get their supplies of grain, potatoes, fish, and such bulky articles, at little cost of transport. There is a mode of conveyance, for short distances and small weights, used by the poor who have no horse and sledge, which is very convenient. After the first snow was a little hardened, I observed from my window all the children of the neighbourhood very busy dragging up their little sledges, of the size of a

butcher's tray, to the top of the rising ground, sitting down on them, and sliding away to the bottom with such velocity, that they were carried half-way up the opposite declivity. It was evidently good sport; and the idea has been transported from the regions of frost and snow, to the boulevards of Paris, where the montagnes Russes — a wooden platform, and chairs on rollers, enacting the parts of hills and sledges — were the delight, for a season, of the wives and daughters of the Parisian citizens. I was surprised to see so many old folks as well as children dragging these play-things after them by a string; but I soon saw their use, for half-way up a hill I met a grave old personage, almost hid by a sack of corn between his legs, seated on one of these locomotives, and flying away down hill to the mill, with the velocity of a ten-horse power engine. It is, in fact, an excellent way of travelling for the poor pedestrian in winter; as over the snow the dragging up hill the little hand-sledge, or kelker, is not hard work, even with a load upon it; and down hill he gets on astonishingly, while resting himself.

In winter the market-place was often an interesting scene, from the concourse of peasants, or bonder, many dressed in the costume of their own districts. There is a kind of hereditary shape and material used in the garments of particular valleys; and these are often picturesque dresses. The peasant of Valders, with his little red skull-cap, his embroidered jacket and breeches with rows of dangling buttons, his yellow garters, with

tassels tied below the knee, his stout well-formed legs in checkered blue and white stockings, and his rather dangerous-looking knife in his leathern girdle, might pass in the streets of Gibraltar for one of the Andalusian smugglers in his gala dress: the fair hair, blue eye, and greater bulk, would distinguish the man of the extreme north, from him of the extreme south of Europe, much more than the dress — although the costume of a Mid-summer-day at Gibraltar seems not particularly adapted to a Midwinter-day at Christiana. It is probable that when there was little or no variety in the material of clothing — only home-made stuff to cut and carve upon — there was also very little variety in the shape, or fashion, in different countries; taste or fancy was not awakened by new material; and the old got always the same shape and fashion given to it. One never sees in local costumes any other than the local material: where foreign cloth, cotton, and silk, have made their appearance, it is always in a different shape from the old hereditary cut of the home-spun. A taste for novelty has been awakened, a new want has to be gratified; and, with all deference to the ingenious travellers who find it instructive to paint and describe local costumes, the tastes and wants which abolish them are the spurs to commerce, industry, and civilisation: and their advance in a country, a much more important object of curiosity, than the forms of dress which they are superseding. It is only in a few secluded valleys and districts, that these fashions of the ruder ages

still linger; and there some curious old customs also still keep their hold. At the guilds, or feasts, given by the bonder, or peasants, at Christmas, or at a marriage, there is still the high seat, or elevated seat of honour, for the principal parties — for the peasant himself, and his wife, if it be a family meeting. Each dish is brought to table in a procession, headed by the musicians: the young women who attend on the guests, have their long, and generally yellow hair, untied, and floating over their shoulders. There is a master of the revels, that is, a friend of experience in such matters, who takes the command of all the business and order of the feast. There is also an equivalent for the jester of ancient times; some jovial young neighbour, who takes the charge of keeping up the mirth of the company, and who is to find talk, and jokes, and capers, to the last: these matters are arranged as seriously as they would have been in the 14th century. The great intercourse, however, of the Norwegians with other nations since the last peace — Norway having now, in proportion to her population, more shipping than any other country in Europe except England * — is rapidly assimi-

* The number of vessels belonging to Norway above 2 tost, or about 4 tons burden, was,

In the years 1819, 1964 vessels, carrying 62,284 tosts.
— 1834, 2165 ditto, ditto 71,304 —

The number of seamen, not including the ship-masters, was, in 1834, 9407 men, which is supposed to be about one third of the total number of registered seamen above 16 years of age, liable to serve at sea instead of in the land force.

lating her customs to those of the present times in the rest of the civilised world; and no doubt conveying in return to other people her juster notions of society and government.

There is not wanting in Norway, as in other countries, a class of political economists, who deplore the change from the ancient frugality and simplicity in dress and mode of living, and see only luxury and ruin in the increasing taste and demand for the modern enjoyments of life. Norway is not a re-exporting country, but consumes every shilling's worth of the luxuries or necessaries she imports: the argument, therefore, of the impoverishing effect of the use of foreign luxuries, or a taste for them among a people, is more clear and net, than in commercial countries, and admits of being examined by itself, without admixture of secondary considerations. The use of coffee, tea, and sugar, is the most generally diffused of those luxuries or acquired tastes in modern times, and that which these political economists especially decry as ruinous to the common people from its expense, compared to the simple milk-diet of their forefathers. It is curious and instructive to look at what statistical facts bring out upon this argument. Norway contains, in 1835, a population of 1,194,610 persons, or, at 5 to a family, 238,922 families; and 646,315 head of cattle; 1,034,289 sheep; 185,554 goats; 98,321 rein-deer. Each family has, therefore, of milk-giving animals, 8.2 on an average; viz. of cattle, 2.95; of sheep, 4.33; of goats, 0.77; of rein-deer, 0.41. The average importation of coffee is

reckoned 2 millions of pounds' weight; of tea, 40,000 lbs.; of sugar, 2,350,000 lbs. Each family, therefore, on an average, consumes $8\frac{3}{10}$ lbs. of coffee yearly; $9\frac{9}{10}$ lbs. of sugar; and 0.17 lbs. of tea: the retail price of coffee being 1 mark 2*sk.*, or $10\frac{1}{4}$*d.* sterling; of sugar, 1 mark, or $9\frac{1}{4}$*d.* sterling; of tea, 3 marks 8*sk.*, or 2*s.* 8*d.* sterling: each family lays out yearly, on an average, 7*s.* $0\frac{1}{4}$*d.* sterling in coffee; 7*s.* $7\frac{1}{2}$*d.* sterling in sugar; $5\frac{1}{2}$*d.* sterling in tea; or in all, 15*s.* $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* sterling, in the liquid of two diets daily. Now if this liquid were milk, which these pastoral political economists recommend, it could not well be less in quantity than half a pint to each person at a diet — half a pint of milk is but a draught — and this would be five pints daily in each family all the year round. But one cow could not give this supply winter and summer, in calf or not in calf; and one cow could not be kept for 15*s.* $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* sterling yearly. Allowing but one cow, it would require 238,922 milking cows in addition to the present stock of the country — that is, one to each five persons—to supply the equivalent liquid for coffee and tea, at two meals, daily to the population of Norway. If we consider the proportion of arable land which must be kept in grass for pasturage for such an overstock of cattle in a country, and the state of agriculture in countries overstocked with half-starved cattle, we may guess at the cause of the frequent dearth of corn in ancient times in Europe. It is better for the Norwegians to buy the liquid for their morning and evening repast, at the expense of 109,009*l.* sterling, from the East and

West Indies, giving in exchange for it the money raised by their industry, in fishing, wood-cutting, &c. than to drink milk at five times the expense of the liquid they prefer, and be without that industry. They do not get coffee or sugar for nothing: they work for it, and must besides work for the other necessaries of life as much as if they used none. They gain additional industry by the new tastes and wants which these political economists decry as ruinous. Man is not so irrational as to labour without an object. It is to enjoy these or similar foreign luxuries — that is, things which he cannot himself produce — that he exerts the powers of mind and body. Without these incentives to industry the Norwegian would be like the Laplander, without industry and civilisation; and the nearer he approaches to the *beau idéal* of those political economists — to the state of being without a taste for these foreign and expensive luxuries — the nearer he approaches to the condition of the Laplander in the comforts and enjoyments of life. The gradation can be distinctly traced here, as from local situation there are peasants who have few of those acquired tastes for luxuries, and whose industry and civilisation are small in proportion.

The peasants, who, evidently from their costume, belong to secluded inland districts, bring game, butter, skins, and such articles, to the Christiania market in winter. One day I saw a crowd gathered round a sledge, and found that one of these peasants had in his simplicity brought to market the skinned carcass of a bear, thinking, no doubt, that

what was good meat in his native valley would be bought as a dainty by the town's people. There seemed to be no customers for it, and the paws, divested of the skin, had so much the appearance of the human foot, that my curiosity even could not give me an appetite for it. The impression of the bear's foot on soft ground is very like that of a man's foot, but longer. The animal requires a large surface of foot to support its weight in the mires in which it feeds. A similar provision of nature is the long cleft, or divergence, of the two claws of the hoof of the reindeer, for preventing its sinking too deep in the loose snow. Dr. Clarke mentions the lynx, or *goup*, as an animal so rare, that he could not get a specimen of the skin, although he thinks it quite established that the animal does exist in the north of Europe. It is so far from rare now, that I found three skins for sale in one day among the peasants in the market-place: one was the skin of a large variety called the wolf lynx, and was not less in size than the skin of an ordinary wolf. The others were of the smaller sort, called the fox lynx. In the north of Norway the spots of the skin are much brighter, I was told, than in the south. These skins were of a dirty yellow, with the outer ends of the hairs silvery, the spots or bars not bright; and might have been taken for wolves' skins, but for the claws and heads, which were clearly feline. The animal deserves the particular notice of the naturalist. Its size, the length of its hair, and its inhabiting caves or dens, appear to connect it rather with the extinct hyena of the North, than with

the smooth-haired, tiger-like lynx of the warm climates.

Few towns have such beautiful environs as Christiania. Numerous points of land, crowned generally with trees, fall pretty steeply into the fiord which winds between them, forming many little land-locked bays and creeks in the heart of the country, far from the main body of the water, and where one little expects to meet an inlet of the sea; yet deep, pure, blue, and without even a stain of mud at ebb tide appearing on their rocky shores. The sides of these points of land, where not too steep, and the quiet little valleys between them, are cultivated, and near the town studded with small tasteful villas, the summer retreats of the gentry of Christiania. We have a picture of the whole peninsula, if we magnify these points of land, the lower wooded, the higher bare, into vast mountain chains, divided by long narrow glens partly filled with the sea, partly with lakes, and with cultivation extending only a little way along the margin. Man is nothing in the vast mass of the land and water of this peninsula. His work is but a speck on its scenery. At the distance of about 80 miles from the coast of Norway there is a ridge or narrow bank, called the Stor Egge (the Great Edge), with 80 fathoms of water upon it, which is considered by the fishermen to follow in its outline all the indentations and projections of fiords and promontories of the main coast of the peninsula. Strom, who wrote his description of Sundmör, in 1766, and appears to have had enlarged ideas on geology

approaching to those of the present day, considered this form of the under-sea land as well established by the soundings; and that this land slopes gradually inwards from the Stor Egge towards the coast, where the water is deeper than on the ridge itself; while, on the west or outside, this ridge is precipitous, and soundings are lost. The range of islands and rocks along the coast, he considers to be the summits above water of a second similar ledge or ridge, steep on the west or outside, and resting upon the former, and sloping inwards conformably to it. In proof of this form, he states that the water on the outside of the range of islands and rocks is greatly deeper than on the inside; and it gradually deepens, so that at the heads of the fiords up in the bosom of the country, a hundred miles or more, in many cases, from the coast, the water is deeper than at the mouths of these fiords. The mountains and elevated table-land of the peninsula, precipitous on the western side, and sloping gradually towards the Baltic and the east, are the third step or ledge of this huge mass of land, which viewed in the large presents from the lowest depth in the ocean in which it can be traced by the lead-line, to the highest level of the table land of Dovre-field, a similarity of general structure, and super-position of its parts. There is a striking similarity of material as well as of form in this great feature of the European land. Rocks of primary or chemical formation are the groundwork of this mass; and it is only at the extremity of their gradual slopes into the Skagerack and Baltic that

they are covered with a crust of those mechanically aggregated by deposition. Of those crusts of deposited rock, the formation around Christiania is interesting to the geologist, from the abundance of organic impressions it contains. These are of the earlier molluscæ, the orthoceratites, belemnites, encrinites; and it is the impression, or mould, not the cast of the extinct animal, that has filled it, that is abundant. The locular divisions are to be traced in many of these moulds. In the arrangement of these organic remains in the rocks of limestone, clay slate, and aluminous slate, in which they have been imbedded, there is something remarkable. The impressions are not disseminated irregularly through or over the surface of the rock, but in regular parallel rows or bands like the stripes of a zebra's skin. In the space between two of these parallel rows, which is generally three or four inches, not an impression will be found, and in the rows not a vacancy in the ranks of the impressions. These bands, rows, or, in fact, veins of organic fossils, are frequently found in a vertical position; but as they must have been deposited on a horizontal or nearly horizontal plane, the rock must have been tilted up subsequent to its induration. These bands or stripes, which are on a horizontal plane, are not mere surface marks upon the horizontal rock, but they go through the mass of it like seams or veins. A bed or stratum of organic substances has been succeeded by a bed or stratum of mud or inorganic matter, of which the rock is composed; and this alteration of beds has gone on apparently

until the whole mass has been formed, and the rock has subsequently been tilted up or overturned, so that the edges of the beds or strata deposited horizontally are now presented to us like stripes or veins penetrating the mass. Organic fossils could not have been injected into fissures either from above or from below, as the crystalline substances filling veins are, in the received theories of veins, supposed to have been. A horizontal or nearly horizontal deposition of the organic bodies in beds, a deposition and induration of the beds of matter upon which and under which they rest, and an alternation of such beds of organic and non-organic matter, must have preceded the present situation and appearance of these veins or bands in the Christiania district.

The whole of this secondary formation is penetrated, broken, and displaced, by the rocks of primary or crystalline formation in a most extraordinary manner; and in no locality, perhaps, can it be said that these rocks are *in situ*. Mr. Keilhau, professor of mineralogy in the University of Christiania, in a paper on the theory of the granitic and other crystalline or primary rock formations, published in the first number of the *Nyt Magazin for Naturvidenskaberne*, in 1836, gives a very interesting description of the districts of this secondary formation in the south of Norway. This distinguished geologist divides them into two, the Christiania, and the Upland, which occupies both sides of the Myosen lake and its large island. The rocks belonging to the same group as the

fossil bearing, which occur in these two territories are, clay-slate, limestone, grauwakke, grauwakke-slate, transition-sandstone, and sandstone-slate — limestone and clay-slate alternate with each other. Sandstone-slate and sandstone lie regularly the uppermost in the suite. Grauwakke and grauwakke-slate are only in the locality at the northern end of the Myosen, where they form broad zones from east to west, alternating with zones of limestone.

The unstratified rocks are granite and syenite (both with and without zircon); many varieties of greenstone, such as diorite, granitic amphibolite, and aphanite; also red and black porphyry of many varieties, basaltic mandlestein, and porphyry conglomerate. In the Upland territory these rocks are not so abundant as in the Christiania territory; porphyry and smaller masses of granite and of greenstone varieties are more common. In the Christiania territory, one third of the whole area consists of granite and syenite; and two of the districts consisting entirely of this rock (granite and syenite being only varieties passing into each other) contain each about 200 square miles. These masses are considered by the Professor to have been produced at once — at one ejection of the fluid matter — and that they neither under nor over lie the stratified formations adjacent, but are in juxta-position, standing side by side. Where the secondary rocks come in contact with these masses the black compact limestone with its embedded fossils is found changed into a white

crystalline marble, the clay-slate into flint-slate and jasper; and these changes diminishing with the distance from the great mass may be traced even to the extent of an English mile from it. On this line of contact, the iron ores which are worked in the district are principally found. The porphyry, mandelstein, and basaltic formations, occupy an area in these two territories not less than the granitic, but are considered by the Professor to be of a distinct origin, being far more superficial, not extending downwards through the secondary formation, but merely resting as layers or beds upon it, and not changing it where in contact.

These geological fields in this peninsula are so bare of covering, that few localities are more instructive, and more open to the observer. To point out where they are situated is all the traveller can attempt.

CHAPTER X.

WILL THE DYNASTY OF VASA OR OF BERNADOTTE FINALLY PREVAIL IN SWEDEN? — STATE OF THE QUESTION. — SMALL KINGS. — SWEDISH HISTORY FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III. — CHARLES XIII. — CHARACTER AND CONDUCT. — GUSTAVUS IV. — CHARACTER. — DIET. — PRINCE OF AUGUSTENBURG. — CANDIDATES FOR THE SUCCESSION. — BERNADOTTE. — VIEWS OF PARTIES AT HIS ELECTION. — PERMANENCY OF THE NEW DYNASTY CONSIDERED. — PARTIES OPPOSED TO IT. — THE LEGITIMATE. — THE LUTHERAN. — THE LIBERAL. — MISTAKEN POLICY OF THE NEW DYNASTY. — OPPOSITION TO LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS. — PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS. — CAPTAIN LINDENBERG. — AWKWARD DILEMMA OF GOVERNMENT FROM HIS HEROISM. — CHARACTER OF HIS MAJESTY. — FALSE PRINCIPLE OF HIS POLICY. — ACQUISITION OF NORWAY ADVERSE TO THE CHANCE OF RETAINING THE SWEDISH CROWN. — CALMAR UNION. — WHY INEFFECTIVE. — POLICY OF RUSSIA. — POLICY OF EUROPE. — POLICY OF ENGLAND.

WILL the Swedish crown descend in the dynasty of Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, or revert, on his demise, to that of Gustaf Ericksson Vasa? The question is of great political interest. It involves that fundamental principle of legitimacy — the inalienable right of the hereditary sovereigns of Europe to their thrones, and brings it to issue in a kingdom of secondary power in the present European system, which cannot, like Britain or France, hold a course independent of other states. If the first step in the improvement of the social condition of modern Europe was wresting the sword from the great feudal nobility and extinguishing their

right of private wars, the next — and one taken in our own day — has been reducing these secondary powers of Europe, the small kings, to similar restraints of equity and general policy, and depriving them also of the appeal to arms on every discordant claim. Who that traces the wars of the last three centuries will regret that the second-rate sovereigns are now reduced to a strength adequate to defensive, but not to offensive, operation, that the peace of Europe is now in the keeping of its five great powers, not at the discretion of any of its other eight-and-forty independent states, and that such powers as Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, would no more be allowed at the present day to disturb the world with their hostilities, than Hamburgh and Lubeck, or Henry the Sixty-second and Henry the Seventy-second ?* It may be hailed as a cheering mark of the advance of society, of the increasing influence of principle in its political affairs, that such a question as the succession to the Swedish crown, which even in the last century would have been regarded as one which must embroil Europe, and be decided by the *ultima*

* Many English readers may not know that Europe can boast of two independent potentates of such high antiquity as these numbers denote. Six square German miles, and a population of 17,385 souls, rejoice in a sixty-second Henry, the reigning Prince of Reus-Schleitz; and still more felicitous are seven and three quarters square miles, and 15,300 souls, in a seventy-second Henry reigning over Reus Lobenstein Ebersdorf. On the ordinary calculation of 25 years to a reign, Henry the First of this long name and race must have flourished about the commencement of our era!

ratio regum, the issue of war, is now a matter which must be referred to public opinion, must be discussed and settled as peaceably as a succession of private heritage, and with only the difference that policy as well as equity may enter into the adjustment.

Few English readers have followed the course of Swedish affairs during the last forty years. In the storm of the French Revolution men paid little attention to what was passing in other countries. The assassination of Gustavus III., father of the late ex-king of Sweden, was one of those events almost overlooked in the hurried succession of others more important to Europe. The assassin Ankerstrom appears to have had no injuries to avenge, to have been no political or religious fanatic, no madman, but simply a cold-blooded murderer, who had miscalculated the political position or wishes of those who would gain by his crime, and the circumstances on which he had relied for his escape and their protection and secret favour. He shot the King at a masquerade in the Opera-house about midnight on the 16th of March, 1792. In a recent Swedish publication the following anecdote is given: it points out the direction which public suspicion has taken: — When the King felt himself wounded, his first care was to send his confidential page De Besche to communicate the event to his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, probably, says the writer, to ascertain how deeply wounded the fraternal heart would be by the tidings. The Duke's court establishment had supped and retired

at an early hour as usual, and his chamberlain, who slept in the anteroom, wished to prevent De Besche from going into the Duke's sleeping apartments, as His Royal Highness had long before retired to rest. De Besche having the King's orders persisted in going in, and found the Duke not undressed and in bed, but arrayed in his full state uniform as high admiral — his blue riband on, his sword and feathered hat in readiness on a stool beside him, wax candles lighted on the tables, and sitting on a sofa, awaiting, as the writer expresses it, the calls of Providence. Such suspicions are often adopted, because they solve circumstances not otherwise explicable, and because the situation and character of the individual admit the possibility or probability of his guilt. The King had long been married without issue, and his brother considered heir to the crown. The birth of the late ex-king, on the 1st of November, 1778, put an end to prospects reckoned upon as a certainty. The peculiarity of this position might give rise to the suspicion; and the subsequent actions of the Duke furnishing nothing to refute, and something to confirm it, the demoralised state also of the Swedish court rendering nothing evil incredible, the suspicion still attaches to this personage. He was regent during his nephew's minority, and one act of his government marks his character. His late brother's personal friend, a General Armfeld, was condemned while absent for treason, and the Countess Magdalena Rudenskold, a young lady of great beauty, the daughter of an old friend of his father, brought up

in the court of his own sister, and who it was known had rejected his licentious addresses, was condemned as an accomplice in the treason of her friend or lover, General Armfeld, and punished, by the Duke's special command, with the pillory and imprisonment for life in the common house of correction. The young king on coming of age restored the parties to their honours and estates. Suspicion can scarcely injure such a character. Many small circumstances during the minority and subsequent seventeen years of Gustavus IV.'s reign indicate the will of this uncle, if the safe and unsuspected way could be found, to seize the crown. During the regency inquiries were secretly made of the physicians, it is stated, with regard to the mental capacity and faculties of the young king, as Gustavus displayed in infancy much of that singularity of character which marked his future life. Absurd reports were also industriously circulated that he was not the offspring of the late king, but of an adulterous amour of the Queen with a Colonel Munk, to whom he bore a resemblance. It was even whispered that the Duke of Sudermania had incontrovertible proofs of the fact in his hands, but from motives of delicacy did not produce them, and rather renounced his right to the crown than unveil the family dishonour. English travellers of repute, such as Wraxal, have not scrupled to adopt and circulate this tale, evidently got up to serve a court intrigue. Subsequent events sufficiently proved that the Duke of Sudermania had no such delicacy or consideration for his family honour in

his character. His treatment of the young Countess Rudenskold shows certainly no excess of delicacy or manly feeling in his actions. When he dethroned his nephew, and adopted strangers to succeed to the crown, his own justification required that he should produce the evidence, if he had such, that his supposed nephew was of spurious birth, and that he was morally and legally entitled to take his brother's crown as true heir. The non-production at this juncture of the proofs of the alleged fact, which would have justified his usurpation, can admit of no other inference than that he had nothing to produce; that the rumour was of his own fabrication, to serve his own intrigues for obtaining the crown, and rested merely upon the circumstance, not unusual in private life, that a marriage proves fruitful after years of barrenness, and that a child resembles others as well as its parents. Whatever may have been the personal likeness of the late ex-king to Colonel Munk, his mind and character, the pertinacity of purpose, the determined sacrifice of every consideration to what he deemed right, show the Vasa blood. There is a similarity of character not to be mistaken, to Charles XII., and even to the great Gustavus. He wanted that which made them great — experience in affairs, faithful servants, and success. Courage he certainly did not want, although it is the fashion of a party to extenuate their own treachery by depreciating its victim. The moral courage of Gustavus IV. places him, as an historical character, among the most extraordinary men of our times.

His manly renunciation of the pomp and outward show in which he was bred and had reigned for seventeen years, when he could only retain these by becoming a pensionary on the bounty of other countries, his unaffected adoption of the habits of private life, when no longer in kingly station, will be contrasted by posterity with the anxious clinging of Buonaparte, after his fall, to petty etiquette and court ceremonial, in his little imperial housekeepings in Elba and at St. Helena. There is a dignity in the simplicity of character, the poverty, the self-respect of this man, a moral sublimity in his quiet, unostentatious, and inflexible adherence to what he thought right, and his sacrifice of every thing to it, which have not been appreciated as they ought to be by his contemporaries. It is the sublime of show and representation, not the moral sublime, which is within a step of the ridiculous. Gustavus IV. in his solitary chamber at St. Gall, preparing his own meals, and living in honourable independence as a private and poor man, is immeasurably farther removed from the ridiculous, than one of the Buonapartean kings trying to look royal, and to feel at ease amidst a courtly splendour and etiquette, which, being foreign to earlier habits of life, acquire an undue importance over the mind.

If one asks any well informed Swede what special cases of misgovernment justify the deposition of Gustavus IV.? the loss of Finland is the most prominent. It is considered by all Swedes as the deepest wound ever inflicted on their coun-

try. Posterity will view it differently. It was folly and misgovernment certainly, for the sovereign of a handful of people to enter the lists against Russia, to quarrel with Prussia and France, and to attempt to act an independent part, or any part, in offensive war; but this error of judgment is common to the whole Swedish nation. Looking to her brilliant history, and overlooking the immense difference which industry and commerce have produced in the relative strength and resources of nations, Gustavus over-rated, as every Swede at present does, the means of Sweden, and her importance in the European system, forgetting that other nations have been advancing so much more rapidly than Sweden, that the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus, or Charles XII., could no more be re-enacted now with Swedish means on European ground than those of the ancient sea-kings. This error of judgment, in which all partake, but which it was certainly folly and misgovernment in the monarch to entertain, was, no doubt, the immediate occasion of the loss of Finland; but, sooner or later, the loss was inevitable. Finland stood, with regard to Sweden, in the same relation as Normandy did of old to England. Separated by the sea, inhabited by a Sclavonic race, more allied in language and manners to the Russian than to the Swedish people, and extending to the very gates, it may be said, of the capital of a country of forty millions of inhabitants, could such a province be held by a distant nation of three millions? Was there any real advantage from a

possession which kept the nation under arms, even in profound peace, to maintain it, requiring an unremitting military exertion incompatible with her industry and prosperity? Would England have been what she now is, if she had retained Normandy? or Sweden what she still is, if she had been so fortunate as to lose her foreign provinces a century earlier? Since this loss, Sweden raises grain to support her population — and even for exportation; before, Swedish husbandry did not support the population, although considerably smaller. The loss has not been to the Swedish nation, but to her numerous and poor nobility, who found a living in the civil and military offices connected with these provinces, and were thrown upon the mother-country already overstocked with their class. This portion of the Swedish nation dethroned Gustavus IV.; and their venality gave the means to the Russian conquest, to which his folly had given the opportunity. The most important fortresses, it was proved, were sold by the commanding officers to the enemy. History does not present a more heartless scene of perfidy than the affairs of Sweden exhibit in 1808, 1809, and 1810; — a moral pestilence appears to have smitten the higher orders, and made them insensible to the feelings and principles which usually guide men in high and responsible station. The colonel of a regiment — in position in the field, entrusted with an important post on the Norwegian frontier, and almost in presence of the enemy — privately withdraws his corps without orders, yet not without the

connivance of his superior officers, and retreats with it to Stockholm, to take part in the court intrigue for dethroning the King. It was not with such officers that Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. won battles; but such men deposed Gustavus IV., seated the Duke of Sudermania on the throne, and changed the Vasa dynasty.

When the Duke at last obtained his object, he was advanced in years, and childless. He might complain with Macbeth, that those with whom he dealt had "placed upon his head a fruitless crown," and that the means by which he obtained it were the means which deprived his own race of the succession. The men of 1809 (as the faction who deposed Gustavus called themselves) could not, for their own security, and in case of a day of retribution, allow the succession to be settled on the son of the deposed King, nor to be postponed in case of a re-action, or of the death of the new sovereign, by which it would devolve to the natural heir. It is in human nature that men hate whom they have injured, — and on this principle the acquiescence of the new king, Charles XIII., in the exclusion of his nephew's posterity, may be accounted for: and to an intensely selfish old man, caring only for his own enjoyment and security, the presence of an heir, whose right to the crown was better than his own, might appear neither safe nor agreeable. The character and position of this king appear to belong rather to the middle ages, than to modern times. The Prince Carl August, of Augustenburg, a branch of the royal family of

Denmark, was the successor proposed, and adopted by the Swedish diet and the King. This amiable prince intended, it was reported, to restore the crown to the Vasa dynasty, when it devolved to him; but he died suddenly, in May, 1810, soon after his inauguration as Crown Prince of Sweden. His death was regarded with suspicion, and connected with his supposed intention, by the public: it shows a diseased state of morals in a nation, when suspicion is abroad, converting every unexpected occurrence into crime. The Diet and the King proceeded to appoint another successor.

It is undoubtedly competent for a Swedish Diet constitutionally to settle the succession to the crown. The diet of Orebro of the 4th of January, 1540, settled it upon the eldest son of Gustavus Vasa, and his posterity; that of Norkoping of 1604 — in consequence of Sigismund, the grandson and lineal heir of Gustavus Vasa, adhering to the Catholic religion, and like our James II. abandoning his kingdom — altered the succession so far as to settle it on Gustavus Vasa's youngest son, Charles IX., the father of the great Gustavus Adolphus. The scruples of Charles IX. to alter the succession from the line of his elder brother, and his anxious and repeated offers to his nephew, to resign the crown to him if he would conform to the established religion and laws, form a striking and honourable contrast to the conduct of the Duke of Sudermania. These Swedish Diets represented at the time the property and intelligence of the nation, and proceeded with the pru-

dence of a national representation, altering the succession only to that extent which the exigency of the case required. The Diet of 1604 settled the crown upon exactly the same principles as our parliament of 1688 settled the succession to the British crown. But it may be doubted whether in the present day a Diet, constructed like the Swedish, can be considered a representation of a nation sufficiently perfect for such an important national act. The proceedings at least of these Diets of 1810, have the character rather of the acts of a faction, than of a national representation, for they invalidate themselves. Having deposed Gustavus IV., bestowed the crown on his uncle, Charles XIII., and settled the succession on the Prince of Augustenburg, they could on no intelligible principle do more: they could not proceed to annul this new succesion of the Augustenburg dynasty on the death of the first of the line, by appointing a third dynasty in the line of Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, without evidently vitiating their own proceedings, as by so doing they resolved their own appointment and solemn inauguration of the Prince of Augustenburg into a mere personal right of succession — not a succession of one dynasty to another; and consequently invalidated their own subsequent appointments and inaugurations, as being any thing more, or admitting of any other interpretation. This looks more like the hurried work of a faction, than of a constitutional assembly representing a nation and consistent in its acts. The proceeding itself also, — a total change of the royal dynasty — has more of

the character of faction than of reform. The folly and misgovernment of Gustavus might justify his deposition, his removal from the seat of government, the establishment of a Regency during his life and the minority of his son, and the adoption of such a constitution as would check all misgovernment by the executive power in future: but unless the crowns of Europe are elective, not hereditary — and elective not by the nation but by a faction of nobility; it is difficult to discover the principle on which these Diets and the Duke of Sudermania not only deposed a king, (admitted to have been upright, and well-intentioned, although misguided,) after a reign of 17 years, unblemished by any act of cruelty or oppression, but also deprived his posterity of the succession. They are not his posterity alone, but the posterity of the men to whom Sweden owes her independent existence and her high name among nations, and to whom Europe owes her religious liberties. If ever man deserved a crown for his posterity from his country, it was Gustavus Vasa — or from the rest of mankind, it was Gustavus Adolphus.

On the death of the Prince of Augustenburg, many successors were suggested; and in times less serious, the competition would have furnished amusement to the wits of Europe. Among those proposed or named, were the Son of the deposed king, another Prince of Augustenburg, the King of Denmark, a Prince of Oldenburg, Count Wedel Jarlsberg, Marshal Massena, and Marshal Bernadotte. The two leading parties, with views

directly opposite, found it equally their interest to prefer a successor from without, to one from within the circle of royal alliance. The party which deposed Gustavus saw greater safety and greater influence for themselves, in raising a dynasty from the ranks of common life, than in transplanting a branch of any royal family to the throne. The friends of the deposed dynasty, considered that its restoration would meet no such powerful interests in opposition, if it was only a private and not any other royal family that occupied its seat. The Prince of Ponte Corvo, Marshal Bernadotte, had commanded the division of the French army in Mecklenburg, at the time of Gustavus IV.'s wild attempt to engage in offensive operations in Germany. The Swedish officers and men who were made prisoners of war, were treated with kindness and urbanity by the Prince. One or two Swedish officers also had served in the French army, and knew the high reputation of Bernadotte — second only to that of Buonaparte, among military men, at that period of the war. The suggestion of so distinguished a successor to the crown, was favourably listened to by the factions which in fact had the disposal of it. The military and young nobility dreamt of a reconquest of Finland under such a commander; — the old courtiers saw extended influence under a a king ignorant of the language, laws, and institutions of the country. Charles XIII. felt, probably, that his questionable right to the crown would be strengthened by the accession of a successor to it so distinguished for military talent — and his own

character veiled by his virtues. The voice of the nation was not heard in the matter.

These were the secret springs of an event, which, viewed in one light, appears the most extraordinary in history — the deposition of a native race of kings, which has produced men singularly eminent for military achievement — whose deeds are at once the glory and the history of the Swedish nation; and replacing it with the dynasty of a stranger, upon account of military achievements, both inferior in themselves, and entirely unconnected with Swedish interests or honour. Viewed in another light, it is the most ordinary of events — a movement in the seraglio — a change effected by a faction of the court; and to which the nation, accustomed to be governed by court faction, and without intercourse or ties with the executive power through a fair representation, was altogether indifferent. In either light it shows the weak hold of royal dynasties in countries destitute of popular constitutions — and how little support they have from the aristocracy, military and civil functionaries, and array of a court around the throne, which separate them from their subjects. The age of loyalty is past. The people care little for royal rights that are not connected with their own; and in modern times, the favour of the sovereign is no longer the only road by which the ambitious can attain honour, wealth, and influence in society. The misfortune of Gustavus appears to have been, that from his birth to his deposition, he lived in an artificial circle — in a cloud — through which he saw none of the affairs

of his kingdom in the real shape: for the nobility who surrounded his throne, and kept him in ignorance, were themselves ignorant of the state of the country — and their fidelity not greater than their intelligence.

The permanency of the new dynasty is opposed to the wishes of two powerful European interests. The old legitimate dynasties naturally look with aversion upon this sole remaining royal plant, of the many which sprung up among them in the days of Buonaparte. The military glory of his Swedish Majesty (although great in its day) has not, like that of Buonaparte, been unexampled and beyond all contemporary achievement: —Ney, Soult, Wellington, and many other commanders in our age, must be assigned a place at least as high as Marshal Bernadotte. The old dynasties must naturally consider a crown too great a reward for this degree of military merit — especially as the decisive extinguishing blows to the power of Buonaparte, and the final battle in which it was broken, were not particularly aided by the talents or arms of his Swedish Majesty, but were given by their own and the English generals and troops. The deposition of a dynasty connected with them by family alliances and reckoned one of themselves, cannot be agreeable. The refusal, in 1821, of the royal family of Prussia to ally itself with the new dynasty, by the marriage of a princess to the heir apparent of the Swedish crown, — the court mourning on the death of the late ex-king Gustavus IV. at all the old legitimate courts, — the little attention paid by them to his

royal highness Prince Oscar, on his subsequent journey in Germany, in 1837, — are incidents which tell clearly enough, that they consider the present dynasty as not belonging to their class — not within the pale of legitimacy.

The other great interest opposed to the present dynasty is the Protestant — a powerful interest in Germany. It sees with dissatisfaction the descendants of a monarch to whom the Reformation is as much indebted as to Luther himself — who perilled every thing in the cause of religious liberty, and who won with the loss of his own life the present security and independent political existence of the Protestant faith, — set aside from among the crowned heads of Europe, and their throne occupied by the dynasty of one, who, although eminent among the greatest commanders of his day, cannot for military genius, important achievement with small means, purity of the cause in which he was engaged, or magnitude of the benefits civil and religious, gained for mankind by his victories, be compared with, or placed within sight of the great Gustavus. The reformation is personified in Germany, in the names of Luther, Gustavus, and the great men distinguished in the struggle for religious liberty, as civil liberty is with us in the names of Hampden, Russel, or Charles Fox; — the cause is identified with the names. The monument lately erected in Germany to Gustavus Adòlphus, shows how deeply felt and widely spread is this sentiment in favour of the hero of Lutheranism. It is the misfortune of the new Swedish dynasty to

have succeeded one which can reckon names interwoven with these best feelings and dearest interests of the Protestant community of Europe, and one which in Sweden itself is so interwoven with the nation's glory and independence, that the Swede the most devoted to the new dynasty, the most satisfied of its merits, and of the necessity and propriety of the change, must yet secretly blush when he hears the names of Vasa, Adolphus, and Charles XII., run over as the familiar and chosen heroes of the very school-boys of other nations, and reflects that they no longer belong to Sweden.

A third European interest, so powerful and rapidly increasing that it could have upheld this dynasty against the world — the liberal interest — has been imprudently alienated by the policy and spirit adopted by the new dynasty itself. The true position of a new dynasty in this age is evidently at the head of the constitutional governments and free institutions of the Continent, taking that part for the civil liberties of mankind which Gustavus Vasa, Charles IX., and Gustavus Adolphus took for their religious liberties. Before the crown was well his own, Gustavus Vasa did not hesitate to attach himself openly to the new religious interest then springing up in Europe, as the firmest support of his rising dynasty. Papacy was then what legitimacy, or absolutism in royal rights, is now — a doctrine decaying and melting away before the reason of mankind. His son Charles IX., and his grandson Gustavus Adolphus, adopted the same policy. These men were not bigots, or religious

enthusiasts ; — they were doubtless sincere Lutherans; but they were still more sound politicians who saw and seized on the advantage of placing themselves at the head of a rising European interest which would amalgamate their new dynasty with itself. In circumstances remarkably similar — civil liberty and constitutional rights being now among the European people what religious liberty and freedom of conscience were then — the policy of his Majesty Carl Johan has been remarkably different; — it is anti-liberal. 'The character of his reign has been to oppose the spirit of the age; to govern by an aristocracy, upon the ultra-legitimate principles of kingly government; to extinguish in his Norwegian dominions the constitutional rights of the people in their legislation; to put down free institutions; discountenance and set aside men holding liberal opinions, and fetter the liberty of the press. It will be considered among the singular inconsistencies of this age by its future historians, that two sovereigns who hold their crowns without any pretence to hereditary right, but simply by the call of the people — Louis Philip, and Carl Johan — are the two who most anxiously suppress popular rights, and the free expression of public opinion. This spirit of government arises probably from the early impressions of the two sovereigns — both French, and consequently strangers to the idea of a constitutionally limited monarchy, but remembering the evils of a wild revolutionary democracy — and both ignorant of any other principle of government than that memorable one of Louis XIV. — l'etat

c'est moi. It may be doubted if this policy of his Swedish Majesty be wise, because a powerful and wealthy aristocracy is the only basis of this ultra-legitimate system; and from the progress of industry, wealth and knowledge among the middle and lower classes, this basis is rapidly decaying in Europe. In Sweden itself, it appears, by the official registers of sales, that in 1835 the Swedish nobility sold, to persons not noble, to the amount of 107,000 dollars banco of land more than their class bought from the other classes; and since 1822, land, to the amount of above 8 millions of dollars, has passed from the hands of the nobility into those of the middle and lower classes. To rule a country through a privileged class holding no stake, interest, or influence in it founded upon their preponderance of landed property, but simply that which office, civil or military, may give them, appears an unwise policy in a new dynasty, yet this is the tendency of the policy which endeavours to suppress those liberal institutions of government, by which the middle and lower classes would have a weight in the legislation of the country proportionate to their daily increasing share in its property. The history of Carl Johan's reign is that of a kind of civil crusade in a small way, against liberal opinions and institutions. In Norway, where these are secured by a constitutional ground law solemnly sworn to as the mutual compact between the King and the people, the petty aggressions on the independence of the country in its national coinage, flag and exterior emblems, and the non-fulfilment of the spirit of the union in these

points, will be marked by the future historian as inconsistent with the good faith of a high-minded government, and partaking too much of the small spirit of chicanery, which attempts to gain by gradual encroachment what it cannot seize at once by justifiable means. This is not the spirit of the monarch himself, which is admitted by all to be truly royal and sincere; but of his Swedish ministers, who, whatever may be the changes in the cabinet, can have but one feeling with regard to Norway flourishing under its own legislation, without any privileged classes in its legislature. These petty attacks on the Norwegian constitution and independence — always precipitately withdrawn when the sleeping lion shows his teeth and claws — will injure the character of Carl Johan's reign in the page of history, much more than with his contemporaries. The King's ministers are responsible to contemporaries for the royal acts, but it is the King who is responsible to posterity for the acts of his ministers. This governing through a small fractional part of a nation, separated by birth and privileges from the mass of the community, and consequently removed, as much almost as the monarch himself, from any practical knowledge of its business or wants, has in many instances brought the new dynasty of Sweden into awkward positions.

The character of this distinguished personage belongs to European history, and will be judged of by posterity, from higher points of view than those furnished by the calumny or adulation of Swedish factions. How will it be judged of? The

severe and impartial historian will in his estimate of it reject all claims to moral grandeur. Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, born on French soil, bred among French soldiers, elevated by their deeds from the lowest to the highest position in society, had no moral excuse for appearing, in 1813, a party in arms against his country, his comrades, his benefactors. The paltry political objects, fears, and motives of that period have passed away, leaving no trace upon the moving sand of human action; but the eternal land-marks of morality are standing, and by these posterity judges of the rectitude of the course of great men. It would be idle to guess at the present day what might have been the state of Europe if the allied powers had not, with the aid of Bernadotte, defeated the French army at Leipsic; and it would be censorious to point out, how very little the Swedish forces, after all, contributed to that event. Results will not gild over in the eyes of posterity, what in every age, and under every possible combination of circumstances, is a moral stain on human character — the acting in arms against comrades, friends, and native land. It is a great moral lesson, that even the political results to the Swedish crown would have been far more favourable from an adherence to the plain path of moral rectitude. Sweden in her present situation, trembling within the claws of Russia, and with her ancient and powerful ally the French nation, alienated by her desertion of moral and political principal in the hour of need, is no exception to

the homely maxim, that "honesty is the best policy" — even among kings. If politicians urge that the emancipation of Europe from the military yoke of Buonaparte, and the deliverance of all civilised nations from his overwhelming despotism, might reasonably outweigh moral considerations in the peculiar position at that crisis of the Crown Prince of Sweden, let them blot out from historical record the acceptance of a personal recompence in money — the price of Guadaloupe — paid, not to the Swedish state, but to Bernadotte, the Crown Prince, for his personal services against his ancient comrades in arms, and his native country. Posterity will reject the claim for his Majesty, of a seat among those great historical characters whose moral grandeur invigorates human virtue through all succeeding ages. The smaller meed of intellectual greatness will, probably, be withheld also by the faithful historian. From the advance of the public mind in these times, the highest rank of intellectual power is scarcely conceded to military talent even of the highest order: so many great military commanders have appeared in our age in all countries, especially in France, and so many of these personages, when in contact and comparison with ordinary men, have proved to be of ordinary, moderate, and even weak intellect, of little knowledge, and small mental power, that a great general and a great man are no longer synonymous. His Majesty never, like Wellington or Soult, commanded an army of independent movement: an army of

observation, or of reserve; an army of the Rhine, or of the North, were but parts in a plan, subservient to, and in every movement dependent upon the master-mind at the head of the whole grand scheme. The intellectual greatness of his Majesty, therefore, must be judged of from the course of those affairs of which the system and movements emanate from his own intelligence; from the course of the foreign and domestic policy of his Majesty's reign. This falls somewhat short of greatness. In one respect his Majesty is, beyond all question, eminently great, — he looks, and acts the King; represents royal dignity more nobly and majestically than many of the sovereigns born to royalty. This is no mean praise; for with the mass of mankind appearance goes as far as the reality of moral and intellectual grandeur, — and to represent, requires its own peculiar talent, tact, and character, as well as to be what is represented: although these are qualities of an inferior class, inferior in moral as in intellectual worth; and which, if they even pass currently with contemporaries, are rejected by posterity as wanting the genuine stamp of greatness.

The domestic incident of this reign, which the future historian will select as most illustrative of its spirit, and of the political state of the country, is one connected with the liberty of the press — the case of Captain Lindenberg. This gentleman was editor of a newspaper, and had been deprived of his military half-pay on account of the liberal sentiments of his journal. He entered into a spe-

culation of establishing an additional theatre in Stockholm. Being refused a licence, he addressed and published a complaint to the Attorney-General of the States — an officer appointed by the Diet to watch over the conduct of all public functionaries, and prosecute all neglect or transgression of their duties — setting forth the illegality of this refusal, and ascribing it to an attempt to give the king, who was proprietor of the other theatre, a monopoly of all theatrical property, although monopoly of every kind is abolished by the constitutional law. For this libel, if it was one, he was tried and condemned to death on the 29th of May, 1834, as for an act of treason. The whole nation started at once at such a strained construction of treason, and such a monstrous disproportion of the punishment to the offence. The iniquity of the prosecution and sentence, founded upon some obsolete laws by which whatever tended to bring the royal person into disrespect could be construed into high treason, raised a ferment totally unexpected by the great nobility composing the government. The excitement and demonstrations of public opinion were too serious to be trifled with: it was necessary to back out of the affair without delay. To do it gracefully, an act of the royal clemency was published, commuting the sentence of death passed upon Captain Lindenberg into imprisonment for a few years in a fortress. But this Swedish Hampden was made of the stuff of which heroes are made: he refused the royal clemency, and denied the right of the king to change one punishment for another. If

in his case, he stated, the sentence of the court was set aside at the royal pleasure, and imprisonment substituted for death, in the next case it might be the reverse, and a severer punishment inflicted than the court awarded; and he would not furnish the legal precedent by which every man's life and property, and the judgments of the courts of law, would be placed in the hands of the king. The constitution gives the king the power only of pardoning or remitting unjust sentences, not of substituting one for another; and the only favour he asked was that his unjust sentence should be carried into execution on the 8th of November. This was malicious enough; the day being memorable in Sweden for the execution or massacre in 1520, by the tyrant Christian II., of above fifty of the principal nobility, which was the immediate cause of the revolt under Gustavus Vasa against the Danish dynasty. Never was a king placed in so unkingly a position by the blind zeal for his dignity of the nobles around his throne. His royal clemency, of which they had intended to make a display, was flung back to him with haughty scorn, and unanswerable argument of its illegality. The common sense and feelings of the nation were roused; — to execute the sentence was impossible, while to remit it was an admission at once of injustice and weakness. The dilemma was got rid of, by finding out an anniversary never before particularly noticed — that of His Majesty's first landing in Sweden — and celebrating it by a general amnesty for all political offenders — in Sweden there being but one, this Captain Lindenberg.

A great military commander is not necessarily a great king in modern times, when the power and the well-being of a country are little connected with conquest of territory. The exercise of military command seems not to form the mind for extensive and enlightened views on those matters, on which the welfare, prosperity, and strength of countries now depend — on their laws, civil institutions, forms of government, and commercial industry. The military man cannot lay aside the military spirit of interference in all things by regulations, and of making persons, not principles, the objects of regulation. This spirit of interference in all things, essential, perhaps, to military command and discipline, is little adapted to civil government, and the advance of national industry. A kingdom cannot be governed like a regiment, or an army: there is truth in Bacon's quaint observation, "that who thinketh a crown light, knoweth not of what metal it is made." Posterity will give to Marshal Bernadotte a higher place among military commanders, than to Carl Johan among kings. The impartial historian will not deny to this monarch the talents of a military commander, united to the virtues of a private man, generosity, goodness of heart, and the most sincere desire to be useful to his people in his exalted sphere. But enlightened views of legislation, independent policy, knowledge of the people under his government, and enlarged ideas on subjects connected with their prosperity, consonant to the progress of society in other countries, do not characterise this reign. It

is a court-reign, like that of the successors of Louis XIV. of France, bounded in its intelligence and activity by the court-circle around the monarch seeing, hearing, understanding, and doing nothing but through its instrumentality. It is impossible to estimate highly the intellectual powers or the capacity for civil government of a man taken from a private station, who, with a crown in prospect or in possession for upwards of seven and twenty years, has not been able to put himself in direct communication with his subjects, to know himself their laws, institutions, interests, and wants, by the acquisition of their language. It is true that French is generally spoken by the nobility who frequent the court; but it shows no great grasp, strength, or activity of mind, to be content in such a situation with such second-hand knowledge of the affairs of his kingdom, and the business of his government, as can be got by interpretation from the few nobles near the royal person. It is leaving the sceptre, in fact, where it was found — in the hands of a faction. In Sweden, this want of the means of direct communication with the nation is not so unimportant as it may be considered in other countries. The Swedish monarchs have always been either passive instruments in the hands of the nobility, or they have, by addressing themselves directly to the people, obtained a power altogether independent of the nobles. What have been called revolutions in Sweden have been mere alternations between the uncontrolled power of the aristocracy exercised by their senate, and the un-

controlled power of the monarchs, who, with the support of the people, threw off the yoke. In the series of their kings, those who have been distinguished, depended upon the people, and frequently addressed them. Some of the addresses of Gustavus Vasa to the peasantry are remarkably interesting, from their simplicity, knowledge of the habits and way of living of those to whom they are addressed, and unconscious display of character. Charles IX., Gustavus Adolphus, even Charles XII., frequently addressed the soldiery and peasantry, and placed their reliance upon them. When the latter monarch threatened to send one of his jack-boots to preside in the senate of nobility, he was not addressing an idle insult to the nobles, so much as a popular expression of his reliance upon the people, and not upon them. When Gustavus III., in our times, wrested the power from the senate, he addressed the people; and again, when he engaged in his wars with Russia; and on these occasions his harangues were conceived in the spirit of his great predecessors. These personal communications between the king and the people have continued to a later age in Sweden than in other countries, from the sovereigns, in their contests with the senate or corps of nobility, having been frequently thrown upon the support of the people. To make that support permanent, by giving the people a greater share in the legislative system, was a step to which their policy had not advanced. In the necessary dependence of the monarch upon the nobles around the throne in the present reign, it is impossible

there should be that personal knowledge of, communication with, and reliance upon, the people of Sweden, that would tend to liberal institutions, in which the aristocracy, the nation, and the king would have equal interests. The nobles and privileged classes have all in their own way — they alone being the organs of communication with the king. It is the misfortune of the new dynasty to be in this false position with regard to the nation at large: but it is their fault to have remained in that position, without effort to raise up national interests with which they would be amalgamated, and made independent of the support of any one class or faction. Their predecessors left ample room for the new dynasty to fix its roots in liberal institutions for the legislation of the country, and for its social well-being. How many of these has the new dynasty planted in Sweden, and interwoven with its own destiny? None. All the old abuses in the social arrangements of the country, however unsuitable to the present state of the world, remain, and are pertinaciously adhered to. It has connected itself with no national interests or feelings. It trusts to the court, not to the people, for its stability, and to that uncertain, evanescent personal popularity which may attach an army to its chief, but is not the tie that can connect a nation with its dynasty. Effective loyalty in the present age is not a personal attachment, like that of the soldier to his commander, but a common interest in beneficial arrangements, which a change would disturb, and therefore binding the people to that dynasty, be

it new or old, which secures them in the enjoyment of these arrangements. The *prestige* of the French revolution is evaporated. Those who were heroes for a time, and were the first of men in the estimation of the world, have been reduced to their proper level of moral or intellectual greatness — to mediocrity, by the appearance on the scene of much greater men, who have acted in affairs of far greater magnitude, and of more influence on the present state of mankind, than the almost forgotten battles of Ulm or Austerlitz. It was, therefore, a dangerous policy to rest the stability of a new dynasty upon mere personal merits or claims. It is not to see one man on horseback as a king, instead of another, that a nation changes its dynasty; but to secure some important amendment in its civil institutions. This amendment has not been obtained; and the disappointment causes a re-action. The present dynasty is decidedly unpopular with the nation. It has the support of the numerous and influential classes who live by public function or by corporate privileges; but the voice of the people is not in its favour. The subserviency, real or supposed, to Russia, the spirit of the government opposed to the most necessary reforms, and the enmity of an enlightened and influential periodical press, shake to the very foundation the popularity founded on the personal glory of the monarch, upon which the dynasty so injudiciously rests its hopes of stability. The daily press, in fact, now sneers in the most provoking way, on every occasion, at their *hero-king*, as they in derision call His Majesty; compare his achievements

with those of Swedish kings and commanders of former times; and undervalue what is really good, if not very great, in his character, by contrasting it with the moral and intellectual grandeur of the first Vasa and of Gustavus Adolphus.

The acquisition of the Norwegian crown, is also adverse to the interests of the new Swedish dynasty. On the 18th of January, 1814, the king of Denmark formally, by proclamation, released his Norwegian subjects from their allegiance, in consequence of the treaty of Kiel with the allied powers for the cession of the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. As neither Sweden nor the allied powers were in possession of their country, the Norwegian nation, upon their sovereign's renunciation, declared themselves independent, and proceeded to elect his brother, Prince Christian Frederic, king. On the 10th of April, representatives chosen by the nation met at Eidsvold, framed a constitution — the same now enjoyed by Norway — and proclaimed, on the 17th of May, the constitution, and the new constitutional king. Both contracting parties signed the act of the constitution; Christian Frederic took the oaths as king; the constituent assembly was dissolved, and he remained, *de jure*, and *de facto*, king of Norway. He held the crown from May to October, but wanted energy to defend it. On the 10th of October he resigned his sovereignty again into the hands of the nation, having assembled a storthing for the purpose. This storthing negotiated with the Crown Prince of Sweden, Bernadotte, then advancing with a Swedish army; and

upon the same condition—the maintenance of their constitution of the 17th of May—transferred the sovereignty resigned into their hands by Christian Frederic, to the Swedish king, Charles XIII., upon the 4th of November; and upon the 10th, the Crown Prince took the oath to the constitution for himself and the king. By the death of Charles XIII., in February, 1818, the Crown Prince succeeded, and took the oaths to the constitution, and was crowned in Norway in September. The dynasty of Bernadotte is thus as legitimately entitled to the constitutional crown of Norway, as ever that of Vasa was to the Swedish, and precisely in the same way—by a mutual compact with the nation, and an election as its royal dynasty. The family of Bernadotte could desire in common sense no better title; but from the unfortunate spirit in which it has set out on its regal career, a different title is assumed—a sort of divine right derived from the treaty of Kiel—and is propounded in several of the royal speeches to the Norwegian storthing, in a sort of obscure-sublime, similar to the bombast of Buonaparte's decrees and addresses to his troops—together with the assumption, that the king out of his goodness bestowed the present constitution on the Norwegian nation on the 4th of November, 1814. This may suit the intelligence of the court-circles of Stockholm; but it is neither historically true, politically wise, nor, in the advanced state of the public mind in these times, altogether beyond the reach of the most dangerous weapon to which a new dynasty can be exposed—

popular ridicule. The family of Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte was adopted by the Norwegian nation as their future royal dynasty, under an express compact, and sworn condition of maintaining their constitution, framed and adopted by them on the previous 17th of May. The Norwegians are acute enough to see that what the king gave, the king might alter or take away, without any direct breach of the compact by which alone he holds the crown; and are of so highly sincere, open, and honourable a character — understanding no chicanery or disguise in affairs — that the assumption is received with disgust, as well as surprise at its folly. They hold the faster by the historical fact, and celebrate the 17th of May in spite of the declared displeasure and animosity of their sovereign to this anniversary of their constitution, and the attempts fruitlessly made every year, and in 1821 even with the unnecessary intervention of military force, to suppress the celebration and transfer it to the 4th of November. This idle spirit of animosity to the celebration of a national anniversary — a dispute in which a government never can prevail against a people — and which, if not idle and without object, is insincere and unprincipled, has by degrees led on the new dynasty into a very awkward position, opposed to the constitutional and liberal principles upon which alone its own right or existence as a royal dynasty can be maintained, and has also thrown a shade of insincerity and double dealing over its proceedings and objects; as the plain common sense which the Scandinavian people abundantly

possess, cannot see why such a strife is kept up about so unimportant a matter as the date of an anniversary, unless some hidden, unseen uses were to be made of the concession when once attained. It has also unnecessarily and *mal-à-propos* brought out high flown principles of royal and legitimate rights independent of the people, which, however natural and to be expected from the ancient dynasties of Austria or Russia, surrounded by their flourishing aristocracies, and with their origin lost in the distant gloom of history, appear to the common sense of all men out of place and even ridiculous from a family raised accidentally from the obscurity of private life within these twenty years, to a constitutional throne. The favour is withered with which a new dynasty in Europe, planted upon constitutional rights by the people themselves — which is the position the new dynasty might have assumed — would have been cherished by that great European interest — the liberal — if it had carried from private life to the throne a spirit consonant to the spirit of the age, a regard for the liberal principles upon which it might have rested its establishment, and a disregard of the frippery and artificial state of the legitimate sovereigns, and of their divine inherent rights, to which it could have no claim in reason.

In another way the acquisition of the Norwegian crown is detrimental to the new Swedish dynasty. There being two distinct crowns and two distinct dynasties, all men see that an equitable and peaceful adjustment of claims which might disturb the

tranquillity of Europe is practicable without infringement of any just right or principle, that it is a duty which the great adjusting powers in the European system owe to the European people; that the importance of the two crowns united is too little in modern times for considerations of political expediency to supersede the ordinary rules of equity, and that the crown of Sweden is not too large a recompence to the descendants of the great protestant hero Gustavus Adolphus, nor that of Norway too small to those of Marshal Bernadotte, for the benefits which mankind enjoy from their respective military achievements.

With the liberal interests alienated, the conservative or legitimate secretly hostile, the Protestant unfriendly, the argument in equity adverse and the political expediency insufficient to cover its defects, the Bernadotte dynasty can scarcely hope to hold both crowns. Unless upon grounds of political expediency, it has no plea for holding both. These grounds, therefore, require examination.

The union of the two or even the three northern kingdoms into one mass of power, which might be a bulwark to Europe in the north against the giant might of Russia, is a favourite vision of many continental politicians. They regret that the union of Calmar, which lasted 126 years—from 1397 to 1523—occurred a century too soon, before commerce and the wants of civilised life had knit communities together, and was dissolved before the three nations were amalgamated. The speculation looks well on

the map, but will not bear investigation. Of the six sovereigns who held the sceptre of the three kingdoms during the Calmar Union*, only one, the first, died a natural death in undisturbed possession of the three — if it can be called a natural death for a queen to die in the cabin of a merchant vessel; and the union was dissolved as far as regards Sweden, on the expulsion of Christian II. by Gustavus Vasa, as readily as if the union had existed but for a day. The remainder of this union, that of Norway with Denmark, was, after a continuance of 400 years, dissolved in our times in 1814, and so easily as to prove that there was no amalgamation, no community of feelings and interests, between the two nations. Historically, therefore, experience tells us that there was something wanting to produce an effective union; that the mere gilded pegs of nobility, functionaries, and a court, are not fastenings sufficient to unite nations into one effective whole. If we look for the cause, we find that the only real elements of union — the interests of the people — are naturally wanting between these nations. The one can give no market to the products or industry of the other: each is sufficient in itself for all it requires. The three British nations are united into one mass of power, because one of

* Margaret established the Calmar Union, 1397 ... died, 1412.
Eric of Pomerania her co-regent ..... deposed, 1439.
Christopher of Bavaria ..... poisoned, 1448.
Christian I. deposed in Sweden, 1464 ..... died, 1481.
John deposed in Sweden, 1501 ..... died, 1512.
Christian II. deposed and expelled, 1523 ..... died, 1559.

them requires and buys all the produce of the labour, and all the labour itself, which the others can spare. Their interests unite them. If O'Connell could dissolve the union, and give Ireland a separate parliament, laws, and executive power, the two populations would nevertheless remain as closely united by their mutual interests and wants, as at this day; and their separate governments would be declared in six months a common nuisance, hindering each other in objects of equal advantage to both countries. But Sweden and Norway interchange nothing with each other. Their natural products are the same. The one people can give no employment to the other. In the foreign markets to which both must resort, their interests are rather opposed to than in unison with each other, being competitors both in the sale and purchase of similar products. Denmark has indeed corn, which both the other countries require, but could take very little of the products of the other two countries in payment. A junction of countries under such natural impediments to effective union, is weakness, not strength; as the national feelings and even interests of the one must necessarily be sacrificed to the predominance of the other, and no common interest, as in the British nations, binds together all other interests and feelings. But if the two, or even the three northern kingdoms were as perfectly amalgamated as the British, the speculation would still be a mere delusion in politics; for they form no mass of power. The whole population of Sweden is but

2,983,144 individuals, of Norway 1,194,610, together 4,177,754 human beings in the whole Scandinavian peninsula; and these scattered over 18 degrees of latitude, and subsisting by small-farming, wood-cutting, fishing, mining — crafts, which of all others can the least spare men to the permanent service of the state, because human labour cannot to any extent be economised in them by machinery, nor supplied by women, children, or infirm persons. The population of the third kingdom, Denmark, is but. 1,223,797. What force could these 5 or 5½ millions sprinkled over such an area, collect, discipline, and transport to any given spot, in or out of the country, for active co-operation in the field with any other European powers? The age is past, fortunately for humanity, when 20,000 men were an army. The wants and necessaries of civilised life have multiplied so much, that a population of five or six millions has not spare strength in modern times to move the wheels of war beyond its own territory. The multiplication and improvement of roads and means of transport in all parts of Europe, make it impossible for small armies to effect what they did in the days of Gustavus Adolphus or Charles XII.: the same military positions would now require three times the number of troops to occupy and maintain them in safety from being turned or forced by routes formerly not in existence. The actual political importance of the second-rate European powers is in reality reduced, by the natural progress of society, to their geographical position, and their ability to defend that

against all aggression. The geographical position of Sweden, but especially of Norway, skirting the German Ocean and Atlantic, is undeniably of the highest political importance to Europe; but it may be doubted whether the union of these two countries for its defence, be politically wise and expedient—whether it be politically expedient for the rest of Europe, that the important coasts of the German Ocean and North Sea from the Sound to the North Cape, should be fought for and won or lost by Russia, in the Gulf of Finland or at the gates of Stockholm. This must be the result of that political expediency which would amalgamate Sweden and Norway; by which must be meant that the two countries should have common interests, common defences, and a common fate. Sweden is a champaign country in which regular armies can act; in which superiority of numbers, discipline, and military resources, has full advantages; and of which the fate depends mainly on the defence of its metropolis. Norway is a mountain-country, in which each glen has its independent garrison of inhabitants adequate to its defence, and against whom, from the nature of the country, and want of roads and subsistence, numbers and discipline have no advantages; and those armed masses of peasantry are not necessarily dependent on or connected with the defence of their capital cities, much less of Stockholm, nor paralysed, unless by such a junction, if these were lost. There are countries, such as Switzerland, the Tyrol, Norway, which are safest in the keeping of their own inhabitants. If

these views be correct, the true political expediency of Europe is opposed to the junction of two weak parts into one weak whole, because it risks the loss by one sudden single blow struck in a remote and inaccessible corner of Sweden, of the most important maritime position in Europe; and it trusts the defence of a stretch of ocean-coast, which in the hands of Russia would be the means of changing the face of the world, to a Swedish nobility. The parts, if separate, would have to be conquered by separate efforts, and at separate times.

For Russia there is a clear political expediency both in the union of the two Crowns, and in the two being retained by the Bernadotte dynasty: and this is its true palladium. It is the interest of Russia to support on the Swedish throne that dynasty of which the rights are the most questionable, and which must consequently, in every political crisis, act according to her spirit and wish. Sweden would not be so helpful to Russia as a province incorporated in the empire, as in her apparent, and in courtesy unchallengeable, independence as an European power, yet, on every European question which may arise, in the real dependence in which her government must of necessity stand, while a native dynasty, with claims incontrovertibly superior to that on the throne, may be brought forward on any umbrage. The existence and application of this regulating check-pin in Swedish affairs, and the use made of this influence by the great legitimate powers in their political relations,

have already been of great importance in the European system. Since the Continental arrangements of 1815, there have been two occasions on which Sweden, under her old lion-hearted race of kings, would have regained her former political rank among nations. One was the recent struggle of the Polish nation to throw off the Russian yoke; the other was the late war between Russia and Turkey. A Vasa, on the Swedish throne, would not have suffered these events to pass without an effort to regain the territories wrested from the Swedish crown. The insurrection in Poland would probably have terminated in a very different way, had Sweden taken that part which even the most incapable of the Vasa dynasty would have attempted. Turkey, also — the ancient and natural ally of Sweden — would not have been abandoned to struggle alone against the Russian power, if the ancient and true policy of Sweden had not been sacrificed to the family interests of the new dynasty on the throne. A Gustavus Adolphus, a Charles XII., a Gustavus III., or even a Gustavus IV., upon the Swedish throne, would have enabled Poland to regain her national independence, and Turkey to maintain her political importance; — nor would Circassia have wanted an ally at the present day. Sweden has lost her own importance and political independence by losing these opportunities of re-establishing them: she has gained nothing in liberal or enlightened government by her change of dynasty; for it has been a change only of persons, not of systems; and

Europe has lost one power in her balance of states; and has already seen, that on the only two conjunctures in which a Swedish demonstration could have been of any influence or weight in European affairs, Sweden was totally paralysed by her change of dynasty.

It is not only in the greater political affairs that this underhand influence of the legitimate powers over the new Swedish dynasty is observable: it enters even into such small matters as the censorship of the Swedish press. In the spring of 1837, the editor of a Swedish newspaper, "The Aftenblad," was prosecuted by government, and condemned to four months' imprisonment in a fortress, for publishing — what? a translation from a French newspaper, "Le bon Sens," of an article upon the state of the Austrian possessions in Italy. The Swedish is a language so little diffused, that all that could be said or sung in it could never agitate, nor even reach the public mind in Lombardy or Austria: but in Austria, a voice might be raised which would shake the Swedish throne; and therefore Sweden must anticipate the wishes, and enter into the policy of that power with regard to the press — and prosecute her own subjects for publications, which, by conjecture, she supposes might give umbrage at the court of Vienna. This policy cannot be blamed, because it is prudent under the circumstances in which the new dynasty stands; but it cannot be praised as dignified or independent.

This false position of Sweden in the European

system would cost England dear in the event of a war with Russia. Our government has a deep interest in it. From Cola, Candalax, and Archangel, and other ports in the White Sea, there are above three hundred sail of Russian vessels, which come round the North Cape every year, to fish and trade on the northern coasts of Norway, of which the population is supplied entirely with grain by this channel. By a treaty, in August, 1828, between the courts of Petersburgh and Stockholm, the Russian vessels are exempt from all duties in the ports north of Tromsoe, in the 65° of north latitude. In the event of a war between England and Russia, these vessels and seamen would naturally betake themselves to the more profitable employment of capturing our merchant ships. As privateers, fitted, armed, and piloted from the northern ports of Norway — having their shelter and haunts, and markets for their captures there, within a few hours' sail of the track of our principal coasting trade — they would be able to inflict severe wounds on our commerce. It is almost the only point from which it is directly assailable by Russia. The half independent state of Norway would, in case of a war, be the main security of our commerce against the secret influence of Russia over the Swedish cabinet. Sweden, with neutrality and independence in her mouth, could not, in consequence of her double dynasty, be neutral and independent. Norway, having no interests distinct from the British, and having in her present constitution some control over her executive,

could in some degree check in her own tribunals or functionaries, any secret or undue favour towards one of two belligerent powers; but this would be a feeble obstacle opposed to the advantage, in a war, of covering the Atlantic and North Sea with privateers under the Russian flag.

The policy of England, therefore, and of all the European powers, excepting Russia, appears to be equity — the placing each of these two royal dynasties upon that throne to which, upon every principle, legitimate or liberal, it has indisputable right — the Vasa on the Swedish — the Bernadotte on the Norwegian — merely guaranteeing, for the sake of humanity, a perpetual state of peace between these two small nations. If Finland, with its Gibraltar, Sweaburg, and the archipelago of the Aland isles, was an European bulwark against the advance of Russia in this quarter, its easy conquest shows that its defenders were unequal to their post, and unfit to be intrusted with an European bulwark. The next position of defence in this quarter, for European interests, is on the other side of Sweden, on the Norwegian fielde. If it be an object of European policy to keep Russia from the coasts of the ocean, the stand must be made in Norway, and by defenders of a different *morale* from those who lost Finland — by the Norwegians themselves. Of the two nations, the Norwegian, although the least numerous, is the most powerful, from the perfect union of all in its social structure; having in it no division of classes with unequal or different interests to defend, no corrupt body of nobility dis-

tinct from the people they command in feelings and advantages, no puppet-show court establishment to support; and from occupying the mountains and ravines, and being used to the fatigue, privation, and bodily exertion of the mountaineer life, to which the peasant of the flat country is unequal. The Norwegians are also sincerely attached to the dynasty of Bernadotte, because it alone is identified with that to which they are still more attached, their constitutional and national independence. They have not, like the Swedish people, the recollections of national glory raised by a native race of monarchs in a course of the most splendid military achievements that modern history records, nor the misgivings or prejudices which the change from such a dynasty, unaccompanied by any material change in the condition of the people, or system of government, may naturally excite in Sweden. The abdication of the old Danish dynasty, and the total change in the condition of the people, and the system of their government by the adoption of the new dynasty, make the position of the latter in Norway very different from its position in the other kingdom. The independence of Norway and of her means of defence, and their total separation from Swedish interests, objects, or intrigues, appear in this view the true policy of the European powers.

Edinburgh, Oct. 4. 1838. — When the traveller returns to the spot from whence he set out, he naturally considers, and his reader also, what he has brought back with him — what facts, what observations, what of the useful or agreeable. My acquisitions on the road are soon reckoned up. I bring back three facts: — *1st.* The Swedish nation is more generally educated than the English, the Scotch, or perhaps any in Europe, except the Danish. Elementary education in reading, writing, and the Shorter Catechism of the Lutheran church, is so universal, that even the aid of the schoolmaster in these branches is superseded in many districts, and the children are instructed by their parents. The educational institutions of government — the two universities, the twelve gymnasia, the numerous Latin, or high schools, and Apologist, or common schools, and the law requiring adults to show that they can read and understand the Scriptures before they can be admitted to the communion-table, and to have taken the communion before they can marry, or exercise any act of majority — diffuse widely the means of education, and its first elements. The many periodical and other publications constantly issuing from the Swedish press, and the establishments in the bookselling trade to be found in the smallest and most remote towns, prove that the Swedes are an educated reading people. — 2d. In no country in Europe is the church establishment so powerful, and perfect.

In Sweden there is not merely an union of church and state — the Church is a distinct component portion of the state, equal, in its constitutional share in the legislature, to the whole body of the aristocracy, or of the representatives of the people; and possessing extensive authority and influence — besides its share in the Legislature — through the department of government for Church affairs. It has but one religion, its own, to deal with in the nation — there being no Catholics nor Calvinists among the Swedes; and is undisturbed by sectarianism, or dissent of any note, from its doctrines or forms. Its members, as a body, are highly educated, of undeniable piety and zeal, with very efficient internal regulations in their establishment, for preventing negligence or laxity in the discharge of clerical duties, or the admission of incompetent individuals to clerical functions. The exemplary church attendance of the people, the erection of new, and decoration of old churches by voluntary contributions, and the free-will offerings at Easter and Christmas to their pastors, prove beyond question the popularity and influence of the established clergy in Sweden, and the good feeling in general of their flocks towards them. — 3d. Notwithstanding this powerful, effective, and complete church establishment, and notwithstanding this very wide diffusion of education and religious instruction by parental and clerical tuition, and by an extensive and efficient national establishment of public schools suitable to all classes, the Swedish nation stands among the lowest in the scale of morality; — no other three millions of moral beings in Europe appear to commit, within a given

time, so large an amount of crime and moral transgressions.

The inference from these facts must be, that church and school establishments in a country, however perfect and efficient — and in Sweden they are eminently so — will fail to realise what so many good and enlightened men among us are expecting from them — the improvement of the moral condition of the people. Something else is wanting. What is this want, which in Sweden so evidently counteracts and neutralises the natural and proper effects of a wide diffusion of education and religious instruction? At a time when all right-thinking people are zealously promoting this diffusion of knowledge, and when the most enlightened are inclined to adopt a school establishment, as well as a church establishment, in the arrangements of the State, and even with some kind of compulsory power to enforce the education of the people, it is startling to hear that the means may not be adequate to the end in view — the moral improvement of the social body. In moral as in physical science, it is only by collecting and comparing facts and observations from many quarters, that general truths can be developed. The importance of the subject to all, and its deep interest to many, must excuse a tedious inquiry into the cause why, in this quarter, education and religious instruction have so signally failed in elevating the moral condition of the people.

The most important question for society in the political philosophy of our age is, what are the legitimate objects of legislation?—the limits within

which, in a sound state of society, it ought to be confined? It appears, at first sight, of little importance, whether laws act positively, or act negatively, — that is, whether laws enforce by positive injunction the performance of a moral or social duty; or only punish, when it occurs, the transgression of that duty; — the end in view is the same, and is attained by the same means. There is, however, this essential difference between these two classes of laws; the first subjects to the immediate influence of the law all the members of the community, — the other, the transgressors only of the enactment, leaving men free agents as to transgressing the law or not. It may be doubted whether laws of the first class do not generally overstep the proper boundaries of legislation, invading the province of that self-government, and habits of moral restraint, which are the basis of virtuous conduct in individuals; — they supersede, rather than aid, moral principle. Man must have liberty even to do wrong, or he is but a puppet, without freedom of action as a moral being, without merit in what he does, without self-approbation, or self-respect; — whatever abridges his free agency as a thinking, moral, responsible being, tends to demoralise him. Where law enters with its regulations into those matters which individuals, under the guidance of their private interests are competent to manage, we see the results in the want of exertion, industry, or enterprise among the people, in their apathy, want of public spirit, and inert dependence upon government. We see these results in Denmark from the

system of the interference of government in all things. We see similar results at home; among ourselves, in those particular branches of trade — as, for instance, the glass manufacture — in which, for the sake of the public revenue, our government interferes with its regulations in the free exercise of private industry. Such branches stand, in perfection and extent, far behind those which are free; and far behind the same manufactures in those countries in which they are not so much interfered with. Political economists unanimously tell us, and experience supports their opinion, that such interference of law is prejudicial to the industrial prosperity of a country;—it lay without their scope, to point out that the system is equally prejudicial to its moral condition. Where law enters into the direction of the religious, moral, and social duties of a people, interfering by enactments or institutions with their freedom of action, with their freedom of opinions, religious or political, with their time, property, business, pursuits, and free will in private life, we see very similar moral results — the want of self-government, self-direction, and self-restraint in private conduct; the want of independent action as free moral agents, and of a reference to moral principle in their doings instead of to legal enactments; the want, in short, of morality, unless under direction and coercion of law. Such a state of laws and institutions in a country reduces the people, as moral beings, to the state of a soldiery, who, if they fulfil their regimental duties and military regulations, consider themselves absolved from all other

restraints on conduct. This is the condition of the Swedish people. The mass of the nation is in a state of pupillage, living like soldiers in a regiment, under classes or oligarchies of privileged bodies — the public functionaries, clergy, nobility, owners of estates exempt from taxation, and incorporated traders exempt from competition. The time, labour, property and industry of the rest of the community are disposed of by legislation, for the benefit of these oligarchies; — they are the law-givers, and consider themselves as the nation, and their privileges and interests, as the national interests. It is this false system of legislation, this interference by positive laws in favour of particular classes in all the relations of industry and private life, that, in spite of education and religious knowledge, demoralises the Swedish nation. Under this pressure in Sweden upon industry, property, liberty, free opinion, and free will, education is but a source of amusement, or of speculation in science, without influence on private morals or public affairs; and religion, a superstitious observance of church days, forms, and ordinances, with a blind veneration for the clergy — but as far removed as ever the Roman Catholic ceremonial church was, from promoting any moral improvement of society. The cause of reform in church and state is the cause of morality all the world over. The laws, institutions, and spirit of government of the dark and barbarous middle ages, are not suited to that stage of civilisation which the European people have attained through the diffusion of knowledge by the press, of new tastes and habits by the intercourse with the

tropical countries, and of enlightened ideas of religion and morality by the effects of the Reformation. These three great agents are but now beginning to work effectually in human affairs. Society in the present age is on the eve of a mighty change — is in the act of transition from a lower to a higher state; and human powers — a Swedish King, a Russian Emperor, or an alliance, holy or unholy, of all earthly potentates — can no more arrest its progress, than they can prevent the transition of the living generation to another state of being. Where they attempt it by resisting reforms in church or state, and adhering to laws and social arrangements unsuitable to the intelligence and civilisation of the age, we see in Sweden the result — a social demoralisation for the time, aggravated rather than healed by the establishments for national education and religion.

THE END.

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